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A

HISTORICAL RELATION
 OF THE
PLAGUE AT MARSEILLES
 IN THE YEAR 1720 :

CONTAINING

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF
 THE CALAMITY, AND THE RAVAGES IT OCCASIONED;
 WITH MANY CURIOUS AND INTERESTING PARTI-
 CULARS RELATIVE TO THAT PERIOD.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH MANUSCRIPT OF

MONS. BERTRAND,

PHYSICIAN AT MARSEILLES,

WHO ATTENDED DURING THE WHOLE TIME OF THE MALADY,

BY ANNE PLUMPTRE.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, AND A VARIETY OF NOTES,
 BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The fates come rushing on,
 The rapid fates admit of no delay.—
 While wilful you, and fatally secure,
 Expect to-morrow's more auspicious sun,
 The growing pest, whose infancy was weak
 And easy vanquish'd, with triumphant sway
 O'erpowers your life. ARMSTRONG.

LONDON:

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1805.

PLAGUE France 1864

pp 71

MARSEILLE C. Plague 1864

20 JUL 1864

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INTRODUCTION.

ON reading the title of the following work, a remark may, perhaps, be made,—such an idea has indeed been suggested as an objection against my intention of giving it to the press,—Why, after the lapse of near a century that it has lain dormant, now present such a relation to the public? Whatever may have been its merits at the time it was compiled, so much has since been written on the plague, so many new discoveries have been made relative to it,—its nature, and the remedies it requires, as well as the precautions to be used against it, are so much better understood than they were at that time, that no new lights upon the subject can be expected from one who wrote so many years back.

Were it merely as a medical work that the present was offered to the public, this objection, certainly not unimportant, might have had force sufficient to deter me from prosecuting my purpose.

But the relation here given is by no means addressed to medical persons alone, or confined to medical subjects; it is, as the title states, an *Historical relation* of the calamity—a calamity to which we may all of us one day or other be subjected; and, under that point of view, must be interesting to every description of persons. Considered as a narrative only, not as a book of science, the length of time it has been written can be no objection to its now appearing before the public.

Highly interested myself by the perusal of the work, may I not be allowed to hope that it may prove equally interesting to others? A faithful picture is here given of one of the most awful visitations human nature can experience—a picture sketched by an eye-witness of, and severe sufferer from, the tragedy he describes; one which the most callous heart will surely not read without emotion, and one from which an important lesson may be derived. We have here placed before our eyes the manner in which such a calamity glides insensibly, as it were, into a town; how it develops and spreads itself by degrees, till it arrives at length at

that height when its ravages are so dreadful, that it is capable of transforming, “even in a few days, the most populous and opulent city into a frightful solitude—when every object we behold, when every object we touch, becomes to us an object of terror—when the most wholesome food may communicate poison to the body—when the atmosphere we breathe, the house we inhabit, the clothes with which we are covered, even a letter from a friend, may prove mortal to our frames.” It is a picture which unites in an eminent degree the qualities most calculated to engage the attention of all readers—the horrible and the pathetic, the interesting and the instructive:—and the interest here excited is so much stronger than in the most finely wrought works of imagination, inasmuch as we know that it is not over imaginary woe that we now drop the sympathetic tear, but over woes, alas, too real!—that the sufferings we deplore are not those of an imaginary being, but such as were actually experienced by our fellow-creatures; and while the narrative is romantic enough to be a novel, we yet know that it is not the mere exuberance of fancy which has furnished the

picture, but that the scenes are taken from real life.

But motives much more powerful than the desire of interesting the feelings of my fellow-countrymen have decided me to persevere in my intention of publishing this work, in the hope—a hope too pleasing to be easily relinquished—that at a moment like the present it may prove essentially useful to them. We have seen all around us in the course of last summer a malady, which, if not to be called the plague itself, was at least equally epidemic, made ravages equally dreadful, and the appearance of which in this country is no less to be deprecated. Whatever may be the nature of the yellow fever, and this is a question on which it were the highest presumption in me to enter any further than by citing what I may have occasionally heard from persons of science and intelligence, it is certainly a disease no less fatal in its effects than the plague. An American gentleman, a man of very good sense, though not a person of the faculty, with whom I was one day conversing on this subject, assured me that he knew there were medical people in America who considered it as really the

plague. "It is a well-known fact, these gentlemen say," he added, "that the plague assumes different characters and appearances in different countries, varying according to the variations of climate, soil, habits of living and other circumstances; and they are of opinion, that the original malady was the plague, brought into the country through want of precaution; and now, from circumstances peculiar to America, assuming the character which has occasioned the name of yellow fever to be given to it." My informer added, further, that this appeared to him a much more probable cause of the first introduction of this disease into the United States than many others to which it had been imputed. Had the ill-construction of the sewers at Philadelphia been capable of producing it, why did it never appear till about fifteen or sixteen years ago?—The same cause had existed since the building of the town; and, if adequate to producing such an effect, it would scarcely have been so slow in its operation. Besides, supposing this to be a sufficient reason for the appearance of an epidemic distemper in Philadelphia, it is surely a thing unheard of, that

a disease originating in circumstances purely local, should prove contagious far from the spot where the cause existed which had given it birth.

May it be permitted me here to offer a suggestion which appears strongly to support this opinion?—I offer it with the greatest submission, as I have no authority but my own ideas on which to ground it. The disease which has ravaged Malaga for two successive summers, and which spread last summer into so many other ports of the Mediterranean, was said sometimes to be the yellow fever, at other times it was said to be the plague, and sometimes it was said that both these distempers were in the town. Is it not, then, possible that the plague, brought back from America into these parts, might first show itself under the new character it had there assumed; but, returned to the soil, to the climate where it had been accustomed to appear in a different form, it after a while resumed the usual features by which it had been distinguished? Thus, one while it would appear as the yellow fever, another while as the plague, and might equally bear in different subjects both characters at the same time. In the

following narrative, Mons. Bertrand mentions some of those attacked with the plague as being very yellow. In St. Domingo, the yellow fever is called equally the Siamese fever, from a belief that the disease was first brought into America from Siam.

But leaving this discussion.—Whatever may be the nature of the epidemic which prevailed last summer in so many of the ports of Spain, at Genoa, and at Leghorn, its effects we all know ; and we all know how much they are to be dreaded. The unavoidable intercourse into which our very extensive maritime connections lead us with these parts, more particularly our close connection with Gibraltar, where, according to the most moderate accounts, between three and four thousand persons perished, and the approach of that season when a recommencement of these ravages is so much to be apprehended, surely furnish sufficient reason for calling the attention of all ranks and descriptions of persons to the subject. The present work, it is hoped, may operate as a warning voice, in placing before our eyes in a most striking and impressive manner the nature of the

calamity we have to dread, and how important it is to be constantly on the watch against it. It may inculcate on the minds of those who are placed as guardians over the people, as well as on the minds of the people themselves, that too much caution and circumspection cannot be used in guarding against a disease so fatal ;—and as example always speaks more forcibly than precept, the sad example here placed before our eyes may teach us not to neglect, or slightly to pass over, any reason, however remote, to suppose that we are in danger of being visited by a like calamity. Early attention to it may prevent its rising to any height; but, if neglected even for a moment, all future endeavours to stop its progress may be vain. A little more caution and less incredulity on the part of the Marseillais, on the first rumour of the plague being in the city, might perhaps have saved the lives of fifty thousand citizens—at least, had timely precautions been used, even though they had not been crowned with success, neither the persons in authority nor the people at large would have had any thing wherewith to reproach each other or themselves. By having it clearly and circum-

stantially pointed out to us, we may avoid the rock upon which they split.

Nor let it be objected, that to call a general attention to this subject is perhaps to excite unnecessary alarm—to raise up idle fears in weak and timid minds. The time to excite alarm is while the foe is yet at a distance ; it becomes too late when he is at our gates. On the remotest rumour of invasion, has not almost every efficient person in the country armed in its defence ? and they have done well ;—but shall we use less precaution against a scourge even more to be dreaded than a whole host of invaders ? If the landing of a hostile army cannot be prevented, valour and good conduct may soon repulse and drive it back ; but against the plague, what can valour avail ? Good conduct may, indeed, do much towards opposing its progress, but it is far, far wiser to endeavour to keep it at a distance ; and to do this effectually we must make ourselves well acquainted with its nature. Learned and scientific dissertations on the subject are well calculated to excite in learned and scientific minds a proper apprehension of the evil ; but to the mass of mankind, a plain narra-

tive, like the present, of all they have to dread from a similar visitation, is the most emphatic manner in which they can be addressed.

So strong is the impression still remaining at Marseilles of the sufferings experienced at this period, that notwithstanding the length of time which has since elapsed, so that no eye-witnesses of them remain alive, and the calamities deplored are known only by tradition;—notwithstanding the scenes of horror recently exhibited during the time of the Revolution ; and, perhaps, in no city, after Paris and Lyons, were revolutionary horrors carried to a greater extent ; and it might, therefore, be reasonably supposed they would have effaced all impressions of any prior catastrophe ;—notwithstanding these considerations, yet it is a fact, that the idea of the ravages and desolation made by the plague is even now as strongly impressed on people's minds as if the calamity had happened but yesterday. These scenes are even recalled with not less horror than those of the Revolution itself ; nay, the one period is often brought into comparison with the other—circumstances from the one are often cited as illustrations of the

other. What must have been the impression on the minds of eye-witnesses, when it remains thus strong on those of their descendants, only from the affecting pictures they have drawn !

A very happy consequence of this is, the scrupulous attention it occasions to the exact performance of quarantine by all vessels coming from countries subject to the plague. I was acquainted with an English gentleman, who, being a passenger in a French merchant-ship from Smyrna, was detained in the lazaretto with a favourite horse for forty days, of which he complained very grievously, though he seemed to have felt the confinement even more for his horse than for himself. But, as the plague is no respecter of persons, no respect can be paid to persons in the rigid enforcement of this most necessary precaution. Perhaps in no place whatever, except at Toulon, where there is a similar establishment, is the quarantine performed in a manner equally salutary and efficacious as in the lazaretto at Marseilles. So ample a description of this institution is given in the body of the work, that nothing is left to add here, except to notice the *parloir*, as it

is called, or place where those who are shut up are allowed to see and converse occasionally with their friends in the town without any risk being incurred. The double wall with which the lazaretto is inclosed, is noticed in a note, page 33. Within the first wall, on one side of the entrance, is a cloister of perhaps fifty or sixty feet in length, the arcade of which is filled up with a strong iron lattice, at which persons from the town are allowed to stand, and which is entered without any communication with the lazaretto. At the distance of ten or twelve feet from this, or it may be more, as I speak only from conjecture, and within the inclosure, is another lattice, to which persons shut up there are allowed to come; and thus the parties converse with such a space between them that it is impossible any infection could be taken, supposing any to exist. To this *parloir* I went,—no person is permitted to go any further;—who, indeed, would wish it*?

* The word infirmary, although used in the common acceptation of the term, for a general hospital for the reception of sick of all descriptions, is applied at Marseilles solely to the hospital for the reception of persons having the plague, and for the

The same disease that reigned at Malaga, by whatever name it is to be called, was known to be in the lazaretto last autumn, and several persons died of it ; but, by the great precautions used, it never spread further, though, as may well be supposed, much anxiety was felt on the subject in the town. No persons were permitted to quit the lazaretto in less than sixty days of quarantine, and to some it was extended even to eighty. A considerable alarm was excited by a young man, an American, who, being dismissed after sixty days quarantine, was the very next day taken ill. He was immediately carried back to the lazaretto ; but whether his disorder turned out to be the epidemic, or what was the event of it, I never heard, as I left Marseilles but a few days after. Fortunately, he had no communication with any person in the town.

performance of quarantine.—This place will be found throughout the following work called promiscuously the infirmary and the lazaretto, though more commonly by the former name.

A plan of this lazaretto is given by Mr. Howard in his Account of Lazarettos—he was the only person ever permitted to see it. I have been informed, that those who are employed there to attend upon the sick always wear a jacket, pantaloons, gloves, and shoes of oiled cloth, this being considered as one of the most effectual of all preservatives against infection.

For some reason, I cannot tell what, he was carried to prison, on being dismissed from the lazaretto, and it was in prison that he was taken ill.

In England, as I am informed, the quarantine is performed entirely on board the ships. Surely the superior advantages of such an establishment as the lazaretto at Marseilles, are too obvious to need being descanted upon, and places cannot be wanting in various parts of our coast equally eligible as to situation, and which might be made equally secure from all intercourse with the rest of the community. Among the many excellent public institutions in this country, it is astonishing that this has been passed over.

With the manuscript, the translation of which is here offered to the public, I was favoured by a friend; in whose society I passed many very pleasant hours, during a stay of near a twelvemonth at Marseilles, and to whom I am indebted for other obligations. The work was apparently compiled for publication, but for what reason it was never published it is impossible to say. It is surmised that it was withheld on account of the freedom of the author's strictures on the conduct of the magistrates, and on that of the physicians of Mont-

pellier. It was purchased by the person to whom I am indebted for the use of it, during the time of the Revolution, at a common book-stall, for a very trifling sum of money, and had probably been pilaged in the house of some of Mons. Bertrand's heirs, who had fled the country. The purchaser of it perceiving me curious about every thing relating to Marseilles, very obligingly offered me the use of the manuscript, if I should think it an object of translation. I hope I shall not be thought mistaken in my judgment in having accepted this offer.

It only remains to add the following particulars respecting the author, with which I have been favoured from other quarters :

Mons. Bertrand was born on the 12th of July 1670, at Martigues, a small town in Provence, situated at the junction of the lake of Berre with the Mediterranean. A love of the sciences, which seemed born with him, never forsook him during the whole course of his life. He commenced his studies in his native town, but soon removed to Marseilles to prosecute them more effectually. He first applied himself to the study of philosophy, and afterwards proceeded to that of theo-

logy, which he pursued under the College of Jesuits at Marseilles, in the new school which they opened in the year 1689. Regarding this as the most important of all sciences, he for a time gave up his whole attention to it; and such were his natural talents, that great application with him could not fail of being crowned with eminent success.

Having concluded his studies in theology, his parents would fain have engaged him to enter into holy orders; but this he could not immediately resolve upon, and he went to pass some time at Avignon. Here he became intimately acquainted with Mons. Brun, physician of that city, who had acquired a very high reputation in his profession, and who enjoyed a very extensive practice not only in the Comtat Venaissin, but throughout the rest of Provence. Mons. Bertrand had not long formed this connection before he became so enamoured of the pursuits of his friend, and so decidedly adverse to entering into the ecclesiastical state, that he could no longer bear the latter profession named. He accordingly entered without delay on the study of physic, at first

under his friend at Avignon, whence he removed, after a time, to the celebrated university of Montpellier. He did not, however, remain there long, family affairs requiring his presence at Martigues. To the latter place, therefore, he removed, but did not discontinue the studies to which he had now most irrevocably attached himself. Some time after he went to Lyons, where he passed several months in attending the hospitals, and then returned again to Martigues, with the intention of exercising his profession there. But this small town being already overstocked with physicians, no less than six being established in it, Mons. Bertrand soon found that he had no chance of deriving any considerable advantage from his talents in such a situation, and he at length determined to remove to Marseilles. This he accordingly did in the year 1707. In spite of a cabal which was formed to prevent it, he was received into the college of physicians in that city, and began to exercise his profession with a degree of reputation and success which never forsook him to the time of his death.

The year 1709 soon presented him with an ample field for the display both of his talents and benevolence. This year was remarkable for a winter of such severity as is scarcely ever known in Provence, which terminated in bringing on a terrible fever among the poor, who are always the greatest sufferers from all vicissitudes of seasons.

In the principal hospital at Marseilles there were at one time upwards of six hundred sick; and of the four physicians in ordinary, Mons. Bertrand was the only one who would attend, the others being struck with a panic terror, from the idea that the disorder was infectious. The event seemed in some measure to justify their apprehensions, since Mons. Bertrand, after a very long and fatiguing attendance, was at length seized with a fever, though it was by no means certain that he caught it from his numerous patients; it appeared equally probable that it was the consequence of the great fatigues he had undergone.

In the year 1720, his fortitude was put to a much severer trial, on the breaking out of the plague at Marseilles; but his zeal and charity

were such, that even here he was not to be deterred from the performance of his duty by any idea of personal danger. He resigned himself with the utmost ardour and benevolence to the service of the town, and never relaxed in his attendance upon the sick, except during the intervals when, victim to his assiduities, he was himself among the number of the sufferers. He experienced three different attacks of the malady, the last of which was by much the most severe; and he had the affliction of seeing his wife and all his children swept away, one after the other, by this fatal destroyer. Providence, however, notwithstanding the severity of his last attack, was pleased to spare his life, and restore him to the city of Marseilles, which he continued to serve for thirty years longer with equal zeal and success. His exertions during the plague were reported to the court, and were recompensed by a pension for life.

Such was Mons. Bertrand's love of letters, and so distinguished were his talents in science and literature, that he could not fail to be included among the members who formed the Academy of

Belles-Lettres, instituted at Marseilles in the year 1726. From the moment that the idea of such an institution was started, all his accustomed zeal and assiduity were exerted in support of the plan, and in the promotion of its views. His brethren of the faculty one day testifying their astonishment that he could find leisure, from his professional avocations, which were always very considerable, to attend so much to this institution, "We can always," said he, "find time for our pleasures—the academy is my sole recreation; is it then surprising that I should œconomize my time so as to be able to indulge in it?"

Mons. Bertrand wrote in Latin with great facility, even with elegance. It is to his complete knowledge of this language that he owed a very extensive correspondence among foreign literati; and it was this correspondence which procured to the Academy of Belles-Lettres at Marseilles, the honour of numbering among its associates the learned Dr. John Ernest Hebenstreit, professor and dean of the imperial faculty at Leipsic—a man so well known by many celebrated works both in physics and medicine.

An inflexible probity and disinterestedness were the leading features in the character of Mons. Bertrand. Religion, which had been the first object of his studies, was the guide of all his actions. He was naturally of a most courteous and obliging temper, nor was ever happier than when it was in his power to render a service to any one. His character was mild and frank, yet at the same time lively and animated; he always expressed himself with warmth, for he felt warmly, but he was incapable of rancour towards any one. He was an agreeable companion, easy and sociable in his manners, without ever descending into an ill-bred familiarity, and his conversation was energetic and flowing.

A very fatiguing journey which he undertook at an advanced period of life, to see a patient for whom he interested himself deeply, gave a shock to a naturally strong constitution, which he never recovered. At his return he was attacked with a putrid fever, which, after continuing a month, left him in a state of such extreme weakness, that, although he languished on for a considerable time, he was never free from suffering, and expired on

the 10th of September 1752, in the 83d year of his age.

He published, during his life, several tracts, among which is a Dissertation on the Sea Air, in which he refutes the common idea, that it is impregnated with salt, consequently pernicious in phthisical cases; he asserts it, on the contrary, to be salutary to them. Besides the work now presented to the public, he left several other manuscripts, but what is become of them is not known.

ANNE PLUMPTRE.

Hampstead,
June 1, 1805.

ACCOUNT
OF THE
PLAGUE AT MARSEILLES
IN 1720.

CHAP. I.

The calamities attendant on the plague.—It is a visitation from heaven.—Different times when Marseilles has been afflicted with the plague.

OF all the public calamities which can afflict any town or nation, the plague must be considered as beyond all dispute the most cruel and terrible. War and famine present nothing so dreadful as what is to be seen in a city suffering under this visitation. By submission and humiliation the anger of a powerful enemy may be softened,—his fury may be avoided by flight,—or he may be repulsed by a vigorous resistance. The opposition of a single town, where art has combined with nature to place it in a situation to make a resolute defence, may arrest the progress of a conquering army; and the force of ramparts, aided

by the obstinate courage of those who defend them, may at length obtain from the victors an honourable capitulation.

However frightful the horrors attendant upon the sack of a town, these last but some hours, or, at the utmost, some days. The soldier, greedy of plunder, seeks the spoils much more than the lives of the vanquished ; and, soon satiated with blood and carnage, quits them in pursuit of more solid gratifications. Perhaps, sensible to the misfortunes he witnesses, he grants the lives of those who are at his mercy, if not to their prayers and tears, at least to the ransom offered for them. At any rate, supposing the massacre of such as have borne arms against the conqueror to be general, those whom the weakness of sex or age has rendered innocent of offence are commonly spared. In short, the first ebullition of fury past, pity often succeeds, and a final pardon and amnesty are granted.

Famine never presents the acme of horrors but when it is universal ; and such a famine is a thing absolutely unknown. In those which are partial, and confined to a single country, consolation is always to be found in the avarice, if not in the charity, of its neighbours ; and the greatest evil produced is the compelling the sufferers to seek, by a vagrant life in a foreign clime, the means of preserving that existence, which had terminated in

a lingering and painful death by remaining at home.

But the misfortunes of the contagion are much more horrible, much less to be resisted. The Plague is an implacable enemy, whose approaches are so much the more awful, inasmuch as they are invisible; that he has often penetrated into the very heart of a town before any danger was apprehended, and that all human efforts are a feeble resource against his power and progress. In a few days he transforms the most populous and opulent place into a frightful desert. Where he reigns, divine worship is suspended, the temples are shut up, and the public exercise of the holy offices of religion is unavoidably prohibited,—while the impossibility of rendering sepulchral honours to the dead increases the horror of their dying moments.

This fatal visitant stops commerce in the city, it seems to dissolve society, it interdicts the communication of mutual assistance among the sufferers, it tears asunder all the ties of blood and friendship, annihilates conjugal love, extinguishes even paternal affection. Every source of human assistance exhausted and dried up, the sick remain in a state of neglect and horror more cruel even than death itself. Each individual, attentive solely to his own preservation, considers himself as dispensed with from giving to his neighbour that assistance we naturally owe to each other;

and the most active benevolence, deadened by the prospect of the surrounding danger, represses the pious emotions which at frequent intervals seek to intrude themselves. Wealth, which in other circumstances alleviates all sorrows, and procures every consolation that can be given to sickness, in this alone is insufficient to furnish any mitigation of our woes. The rich and the poor, inspiring equal dread of approaching them, are left alike to languish out their existence in solitary misery.

Cast an eye on the streets, and what a horrible spectacle do they present, of persons falling at every moment, struck with a mortal malady, and dragging about a languishing remain of life, ready to resign it at the next moment in some miserable corner;—of frantic wretches escaped from their beds, and breathing mortal exhalations around them;—of infected corpses heaped one upon another, no less shocking to the eye than terrible to the imagination! Every house, every street, every alley, in short, resounds with sighs and groans;—terror resides in every heart, and is impressed on every countenance.

Such an accumulation of horrors, the necessary attendants on the plague, demonstrate plainly that it is to be considered rather as an immediate visitation from heaven, than as proceeding from any natural causes. This was one of the calamities with which the Almighty afflicted Egypt, to punish

the obduracy of Pharaoh ; and it was with this chastisement also that he humbled the pride of David, when in the ostentation of his heart he chose to number the people of Israel. Other instances might be cited in which he has, from time to time, poured out his wrath on man by a like infliction ; but perhaps no example can be produced more terrible than the plague which afflicted Marseilles in the year 1720.

In fact, however dreadful may be the portrait I have here sketched of the state of a city suffering under this visitation, it is but a faint outline of what we then experienced. Painful as is the recollection, I yet hold it a part of my duty, as a member of society, to expose in a faithful narrative all the disasters of so melancholy a period. This I am the better enabled to do, as I was myself among the number of the greatest sufferers. I may truly say of the calamities which fell on this devoted place, as Æneas said formerly of those experienced by Troy,—*et quorum pars magna fui*.

According to what we learn from the most faithful historians, this was the twentieth time that Marseilles was desolated by a like visitation ; and from the same testimonies we have reason to believe that on no former occasion did the city suffer so severely as on this.

The most antient of these calamities happened in the year 49 before Christ. It is mentioned by

Cæsar, who says that Marseilles was afflicted with the plague at the time the city surrendered to the Romans ; demonstrating by this, that it was not so much weakness and want of courage in the inhabitants, as the extremity to which they were reduced by this malady, that compelled their submission to the conquerors of the world. The author of the Antiquities of Marseilles* says, that the city was not less pressed by the plague than by famine.

The second took place in the year 503, and is mentioned by a historian in these terms : “ At that time a great mortality happened at Marseilles and in other towns of Provence, by a malady which occasioned gatherings of the bigness of a nut in the groin and other parts of the body, particularly in the most delicate.” These gatherings are one of the most antient and most distinctive characters of the plague.

Gregory of Tours mentions the third in the year 588. According to him, it was brought to Marseilles by a vessel which came from Spain laden with different sorts of merchandise, which being bought by the inhabitants, the infection was thus spread among them. In the first house which was attacked, every one to the number of eight persons perished. The malady did not immediately

* Mons. de Ruffi.

make any considerable ravages ; out after having been suspended awhile, it broke out at length with irresistible fury, spreading like a fire which takes a field of ripened corn. So dreadful was the desolation that the harvest was left standing on the ground for want of hands to gather it in, and the grapes remained hanging on the vines till the middle of winter. He adds, that after ceasing apparently a second time, it broke out once more, some months after, when numbers of people who had returned from the country, in confidence of security, after having escaped in the former instances, perished on this occasion.

The same author speaks of a fourth devastation in the year 591. He says that the countries of Anjou, of Maine, and the Nantois, were afflicted with famine at the same time that Marseilles was desolated by the plague.

The fifth is recorded in the Chronicles of the Abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles. It happened in the year 1347, and swept off near two-thirds of the inhabitants of the city. This contagion ravaged almost all the old world, and is said to have continued three years almost without intermission. The same circumstance is mentioned by a variety of authors. Pitton, in his Annals of the Church of Aix, says that it was called the æra of the great mortality ; and that many towns and villages were so completely desolated by it, as to be left without

inhabitants. Petrarch relates that it depopulated almost the whole world,—perhaps because it deprived him of the beautiful Laura. Genebrod says that the infection was brought by the Jews from India; and Pitton adds, that it was done to avenge themselves for some regulations made against them in a general council held at Avignon in 1337.

The History of Marseilles, by Mons. de Ruffi, gives an account of all the remaining visitations of this dreadful calamity, which followed each other in quick succession. In that of 1476 the consuls remained in the city, and faithfully discharged their duty; but those who were in office on the return of the malady, eight years after, abandoned their posts, and ceded the government to others.

The eighth attack was in 1505, which was followed by two others in the two succeeding years. This bitter enemy returned again in 1511, again in 1514, and again in 1530. In this last visitation the historian tells us that almost all the inhabitants forsook the city, the consuls among others, who left three proconsuls to govern in their place. In the years 1547, 1556, and 1557, the malady again broke out; but in the latter year it made very little progress, being checked by the severity of the winter, which was unusually rigorous for this climate.

That which followed in 1580 was much more dreadful. It was accompanied by a famine, and more than thirty thousand persons are said to have fallen victims to these united calamities. The viguier and the first consul fled; but the other consuls remained in their places, and, by sacrificing themselves in endeavouring to serve their afflicted country, increased the shame of those who, instead of an inglorious flight, ought rather to have set an example to others of exertions to arrest the progress of the public calamity*.

* The following curious particulars relative to the plague of this and the succeeding year, as well as to that of 1586 and 1587, are extracted from the History of Provence, by Mons. de Gauffridi. After mentioning the appearance of this malady at Cannes, and some other towns in Provence, in the year 1580, whither it was supposed to be brought from the Levant, and being communicated by them to Marseilles, he proceeds to say :

“ In the same year it broke out at Aix. It was preceded by the whooping-cough, a very common forerunner of this malady. But notwithstanding that this circumstance was well known, the people, who are ever prone to delude themselves, regarded the whooping-cough as only a common cold, from which no ill consequences were to be apprehended; and, taking no precautions, the contagion had arrived at some height in the town before it was recognised. At length it became impossible to disguise the truth, the malady was spread universally, and occasioned the most frightful mortality; scarcely a house was free from infection, and whole families were destroyed by it. The physicians and surgeons, knowing the extremity of the danger, refused to attend the sick; a Genoese

But notwithstanding the ravages of this year the malady returned again the following, and al-

alone was assiduous in the discharge of this duty. He went about the city, preceded by a man ringing a bell, to warn those who were in health to avoid him, and to invite the sick to come and receive his advice. But his efforts were not crowned with much success; and the evil increased to such a degree, that there scarcely remained sufficient inhabitants in the city to bury the dead.

“In this deplorable crisis, overwhelmed with misery, and destitute as it were of all resource, a man, whom all the world believed sent from heaven, suddenly appeared to succour the afflicted. It should seem, however, that necessity and despair were parents of the belief that his mission was from above, rather than the external appearance of the apostle, since his air was austere, his manners rough, and his whole deportment little conciliating. He was clad in a garment of hair-cloth tied round his waist with a cord, at the ends of which hung a chaplet and crucifix. His head and legs were naked, and he had only miserable sandals on his feet. His whole exterior bespoke a mind abstracted from this world, and his conversation breathed nothing but piety and sanctity. All his discourses were of God; all his exhortations were on the subject of repentance; and if ever he spoke of himself, it was only to give a reason for the manner of life he had chosen. He said that many years before he had been attacked by the plague; and, while suffering under this malady, he made a solemn vow to heaven, if he recovered, to devote the rest of his life to the service of those who were visited by a like calamity; that this had obliged him to come into Provence as soon as he heard of the ravages the plague was making there. His actions were correspondent to these professions. He attended the sick with wonderful assiduity, affection, and disinterestedness, refusing all reward, nay even the slightest

most swept away the small remnant of inhabitants the former had spared, so that it is said there

present as a token of gratitude. He had so familiarised himself with the distemper, that, at the first sight of a patient, he immediately pronounced whether he would die or recover; and he was never known to err in his judgment. All these things acquired him a very high reputation; the people failed not to regard him as a saint; and his picture was publicly sold, with the inscription underneath, *The holy hermit*. Every one hastened to purchase it, as an infallible specific against the contagion; and, in the fervour of popular credulity, it was firmly believed that while bearing such a charm the plague would not dare to attack them.

“ In a short time the malady had nearly ceased. Its cessation was attributed entirely to the holy hermit; and he was held in the highest veneration by every one as the author of the public safety. This obtained him an extraordinary influence in the town, which at length rose to such a height, that he even dared, of his own authority, to command the liberation of a culprit whom he met leading to execution. There was nothing which could not be allowed to a man who was considered as the guardian angel of the city, and whose every action was believed to be something more than human.

“ In 1587 the plague broke out again at Aix. It soon after appeared in several of the neighbouring towns, and at length at Marseilles. In all these places the hermit was the only oracle consulted; his assistance was even solicited in the adjoining provinces, whither this terrible malady had carried its ravages, and the inhabitants of Montelimart* and Lyons placed themselves under his fostering care. The malady ceasing in a short time at Aix, it was ascribed entirely to him.

* A town in Dauphiné, forty post leagues, or about a hundred miles, from Aix.

scarcely remained in the whole city three thousand souls. These repeated attacks, far from in-

“ But at length, after having so long prosperously run his career, after having been regarded for several years as a saint, and his works as miracles, the dæmon of suspicion began to be awakened against him. Ever since his arrival in Provence, which was now near seven years, the plague had been constantly in some part or other of the country; and it appearing impossible that this could happen without its being cherished, and carried by design from place to place, doubts arose in the minds of the discerning with respect to the hermit. His conduct and actions were in consequence narrowly watched; and it was soon discovered, that his assistance being requested by the consuls of Draguignan *, on the plague appearing in that town, instead of recommending any remedies for the distemper, or precautions against it, he told them they had nothing to fear, that the air was not infected, and there was no occasion for any interruption to their commerce. He besides gave them free permission to continue as usual the public offices of religion, even to the processions; nay actually urged the solemnization of them as a duty, he said, which they owed to God, to return him thanks that appearances so alarming would be attended with no ill consequence; and that no ill consequences would ensue, he gave them a firm assurance.

“ At Ollioules he had played nearly a similar game. On seeing a girl attacked with the plague, he assured those who demanded his advice, that there was no occasion to be alarmed for the event; that he knew for certain the malady was not in the town; that the infection was taken in the country from some clothes hidden in the trunk of an olive tree, and by

* Draguignan and Ollioules, which we shall see mentioned soon after, are both towns in Provence: the latter is in the road from Marseilles to Toulon.

spiring the people with energy and activity to search out the means of repelling their formidable

burning the clothes all danger would be removed. On these assurances, the people of Draguignan and Ollioules had continued their intercourse with the neighbouring towns, and thus innocently and undesignedly spread the infection.

“ But, worse than all, it was discovered, that in many instances where the hermit had been consulted by women, he had answered them only by libertine conversation and propositions. These things being detected by the parliament of Aix, no doubt could be entertained that the hermit was an infamous impostor ; and to facilitate the more complete investigation of the matter, it was judged expedient to secure his person. He was accordingly arrested, and from that moment his sanctity was at an end.

“ The more the matter was investigated the stronger was the confirmation of the imposture. Instances were now poured in from all quarters of his hypocrisy, his impiety, his debauchery, his profligacy in every way. Besides what was discovered at Draguignan and Ollioules, it was clearly proved that he had been the means of introducing the plague into Marseilles, Aulps, Villecrose, Cadenet, La Cadiere, and La Ciotat ; and that, instead of having stopped its progress at Aix, he had done every thing in his power to protract its duration, and extend its ravages. He was in the constant habit of sending infected persons from the infirmary into all quarters of the city, under various pretences, as well as of removing the dead bodies from one church to another ; than which no means more infallible could be taken for keeping alive the infection. This was what he desired, as by these means he rendered himself always necessary in the town, and thus maintained the authority he had acquired.

“ It was moreover discovered, that all who were employed by him as agents or assistants were persons of infamous cha-

enemy in future, threw them into a sort of despondency, so that when it appeared again in

rafter, and who had been condemned to different punishments. Among these was a woman of the name of Joan Arnaud, whom he kept as his mistress. When he went to his nocturnal assignations at the house of this woman, one of his companions, known only by the name of John, was always placed as a sentinel to watch the avenues leading to it, that the saint might not be surprised in the act of delinquency. To rid himself of the mother and brother of this woman, who he feared might prove obstacles to the prosecution of his amour, he led them into places infected with the plague, to which they soon became victims. In short, it appeared that while all was sanctity with this man in public, nothing fell from his mouth in private but the most licentious conversation, and the most impious and libertine sentiments.

“ These discoveries were sufficient amply to develop the heart of this infamous impostor. But the researches stopped not here, and the further they were carried the more complete did the infamy of his character appear. A witness of rank, and of the highest credibility, declared, that he had been informed on authority perfectly respectable, that this man in his youth, in conjunction with three of his brothers, had, on account of a family quarrel, murdered twelve men at once, of the party of their antagonists, whom they found assembled together. The three brothers being arrested and thrown into prison for the affair, the hermit, with a party of his associates, contrived means to procure their escape, after which the hermit himself entered into the military service : but not considering himself as in perfect security in this situation, he resolved to place himself entirely out of the reach of justice, by assuming religious orders ; and he took the habit of St. Francis in the monastery of St. John Baptist at Colomban. A rumour soon after reaching him that he was sought for every where by the officers of

1586, in three days the city was completely deserted. This paucity of objects on which to exer-

justice, he determined, as the last and surest resource to baffle their pursuit, to go to Rome and demand absolution: he accordingly threw himself at the feet of pope Paul IV.; but the pontiff having been previously advertised by the officers of justice at Milan of the possibility of the criminal's taking this step, his demand was refused. He afterwards renewed his application to Pius IV., and again to Pius V., but met with no better success. At length, having cured the ambassador of Spain of the plague, he was absolved at his solicitation by Gregory XIII., but on condition that he should never more assist in officiating at the mass.

“ Another witness, who had been at Milan, at Naples, and at Rome, deposed that the hermit passed in all these places as a sorcerer, an assassin,—a man, in short, blackened by all sorts of crimes; and it was believed that he was paid by the king of Spain to carry the plague into France, and extend it as much as possible throughout the kingdom.

“ From another quarter information was received, that the hermit having exercised his Æsculapian art at Pavia, at a time when that city was afflicted with the plague, he concluded by demanding of the bishop an attestation of his good conduct, and the services he had rendered. This the intendant of health dissuaded the prelate from giving, assuring him that the hermit was an infamous hypocrite: he supported this assertion by offering to prove, on the testimony of persons highly worthy of credit, that the impostor had been heard to boast that he had committed two murders, and that, being in holy orders, he had married a young woman whom he had carried into a heretic country, where he had lived with her for a long time.

“ Such were the various allegations brought against a man who had long been reputed a saint,—who was called by the

cise its fury, united with the cold which set in soon after with considerable severity, so checked the disease that it was not of long duration. It appeared again the following year, when the inhabitants once more quitted their homes and household gods ; and the progress of the disorder thus stopped, it ceased entirely about the month of May.

people nothing but *the holy Hermit* and *the holy Father*,—whose garment they eagerly kissed as he passed along the streets, and to whom they had already erected altars ;—against this man, who was universally believed to be sent from heaven for the general preservation of mankind ;—a man, in fact, sullied with crimes so various and so enormous, that a single death seemed scarcely sufficient to expiate them.

“ His trial, which lasted more than a year, being at length finished, he was condemned to be burned alive, and the woman with whom he cohabited was sentenced to be whipped. He went to his death with the most perfect audacity and composure, frankly avowing all his crimes, and repeating frequently, “ *à peccato vecchio penitentia nuova**.” But supposing that he had not made this confession, or that the depositions against him had been less strong, the immediate cessation of the plague in Provence on his arrestation, after having constantly ravaged it more or less during seven years, was his sufficient condemnation.

“ Thus was this infamous impostor at length detected and punished, to the great satisfaction of all honest people, who could not help observing, on this occasion, how easily and how lamentably mankind may be duped by those who cover their villany with a cloak of religion.”

* For old crimes a new penitence.

The army of the marquis d'Uxel* brought the infection from Italy to Lyons in the year 1628, whence it soon spread over Languedoc, Dauphiné and Provence. The town of Digne was the first place attacked in Provence, and from thence it proceeded to Marseilles. In the latter place it did not break out till early in 1630. The divisions which then reigned in the city were the cause that many precautions which might have prevented the progress of the evil were neglected. But the prudent conduct of the first consul, Leon de Valbelle, lord of La Tour, and of Nicolas Gratian, the second consul, soon re-established good order, and prevented those excesses which are the too frequent consequences of such a public calamity.

* The marquis d'Uxel was sent at the head of a body of French troops to the assistance of Charles of Gonzaga duke of Nevers, in the dispute for the succession to the duchies of Mantua and Montferrat.

An anecdote is recorded of this nobleman, that, being one day rallied by some friends for having always remained unmarried, he replied, "it was because he had never met with a woman of whom he could wish to be the husband, or a man of whom he could wish to be the father." On this the author who records the anecdote remarks: "This sally has been very much admired: for my part, I can see nothing in it but the effusion of an overweening self-conceit, which could not perceive his own faults; or the purblindness of a fool, which could not discern the virtues of others."

The nineteenth attack of this malady with which Marseilles was afflicted, was in the years 1649 and 1650. It began in the month of June of the former year, and ceased about the February following.

CHAP. II.

Origin of the plague at Marseilles.—This malady could not proceed from the air or aliments.

THE twentieth and last attack of the plague at Marseilles, and that of which we are about to give a particular description, broke out in the year 1720. Before we enter on its origin, and the manner in which it was unhappily introduced among us, it is necessary first to demonstrate, that it could not originate in any of those common and general causes to which contagious diseases are ordinarily attributed. The sequel will sufficiently explain the expediency of this discussion.

We know of only two general causes of epidemic or popular maladies, the air and aliments: these, being common alike to all the inhabitants of the same place, communicate equally to all, their good or bad qualities, and make nearly a like impression on all. The air, though the most simple and most fluid of all bodies, yet easily charges itself with all sorts of foreign particles, which it carries in its bosom, and communicates wherever it penetrates. This is a truth so universally received, that it has no occasion to be supported by proofs.

The air then, pure in itself, can only be infected by an intermixture of foreign particles, which, according to their quality, render it more or less pure, consequently more or less salutary to the human body: for, who is at present to be told that this air, so necessary to our existence, produces a variety of changes in the blood, whether it mingle with it through the medium of the aliments, or whether it be imbibed by respiration? But the impure particles, capable of infecting the air, can only incorporate themselves with it either by means of the vapours and exhalations which ascend from the earth, or from muddy and stagnated waters, or from some other kind of corruption, such as the infection arising from the mass of putrid corpses left together on a field of battle, or at the storming of a town. After the shock of an earthquake the earth is often seen to open, and from these embrasures mineral and arsenical exhalations issue; which, mingling with the air, infect it with their noxious qualities. In like manner, from muddy and stagnant waters the sun attracts vapours, which, being soon of an equal weight with the air, remain suspended there, and confound themselves with it. But pass we over these causes of infection in the air, which are too well known to need dwelling upon them.

From all such kinds of infection the air of *Paris* is wholly exempt. There is not either

in the city or its environs any mine of metal or mineral substances, or any spring of mineral water, from which exhalations of this kind can arise. We have no instance recorded in history of its having been visited by the shock of an earthquake, nor does the oldest man living remember to have heard mention of such a calamity being ever felt in the city*. An infinite number of springs and

* If before the time when this narrative was written Marseilles was never visited by the shock of an earthquake, it has not since been a total stranger to this awful phænomenon of nature. In 1744 was a very violent one, which was felt almost over all Provence, and by which the towns of Aix, Marseilles, and Frejus suffered very considerably. In the county of Nice six separate shocks were felt, fourteen villages were laid in ruins, two chateaux were swallowed up, and a mountain was thrown down. At Manosque, a town on the eastern side of Provence, a very extraordinary phænomenon took place: At three quarters of a league from the town, on the road to Forcalquier, a rock suddenly opened, whence flowed in a moment a torrent of water so abundant that the whole country round, and even the streets of Manosque, were inundated by it. This circumstance happening in a time of very great drought, both surprised and rejoiced the inhabitants, whose whole attention was immediately occupied in forming plans for rendering a supply of water so miraculous, permanent and useful to the country. For this purpose the municipal council deputed commissioners to examine into the nature of the source. They followed the course of the torrent for a considerable time, always ascending the mountain; when they were suddenly surprised with another shock of an earthquake, and both the water and the place whence it issued entirely disappeared.

fountains supply the city abundantly with water ; but as these waters are of the most pure and wholesome kinds, and are constantly running,—as they cannot even stagnate in any part, no infection can arise from this cause. Strangers indeed complain, and with some reason, of the want of cleanliness in the streets of Marseilles, in consequence of the ordure from the houses being thrown into them. This complaint, it must be owned, is not unfounded ; but it should be added, that the filth is scarcely sooner thrown down than carried away by the peasants, eager for manure, so necessary for the fertilization of their lands*.

These facts are cited on the authority of a work entitled *Essai sur l'Histoire de Provence*, published in 1785, and ascribed to Mons. Bouche, then a counsellor in the parliament of Aix.

In 1763 another shock of an earthquake was felt at Marseilles ; but it only caused a general alarm throughout the city, it did no damage. One of a similar nature was felt on the 2d of February, 1803, at almost midnight. The commotion was most severe in the higher parts of the town, where it was of sufficient force to throw some persons from their seats ; but it did not occasion any real damage.

* It will easily be imagined what very good reason strangers had to make this complaint, when it is observed, that all the ordures of the houses, not excepting even the most noxious, at that time were thrown without any ceremony from the windows ; and it happened not unfrequently that the passenger in walking along the streets was saluted with one of the vases

To convince ourselves that the air of Marseilles must be perfectly pure and wholesome, we have only to consider the situation of the town, than which scarcely any thing can be conceived more favourable and happy. It will perhaps be not irrelevant to our subject, or unamusing to our readers, if we devote a few moments to giving a short description of this city. Those who are already ac-

that contained them emptied on his head. This abuse subsisted till within about three years, since which time the commissary of the police has forbidden the practice, under a fine proportioned to the flagrancy of the offence. All persons are now obliged to carry their vessels down in the evening, and empty them into the kennels; which being running waters, they are immediately carried away into the sea. It had been better entirely to prohibit their being thrown into the street, and to compel every one to make a proper place in the house for their reception. Will it be believed, however, that this regulation is considered as a great hardship by the inhabitants, who complain heavily of the trouble occasioned in houses by the servants being obliged to carry every thing down stairs? An old woman was one day haranguing very pathetically on this subject, setting forth the fatigue she experienced, living as she did in a fourth story, in being obliged to go down stairs with her dirty water; when, in the midst of her eloquence, a heavy shower of rain began to fall. “*Aïte,*” she cried, “*voyez-vous donc, on ne peut pas empêcher Dieu de pleuvoir; et qu’est-ce qu’il-y-a de pire de jeter nos eaux dans les rues?*”—“Aha, look you there now,—they can’t hinder God from raining; and what is there worse in our throwing our waters into the streets?” It is to be observed, that, according to her, it is not God that *sends* the rain; he rains himself.

quainted with it, will not be sorry to accompany us in retracing it in their memory ; and those to whom it is unknown, will be pleased to acquire some idea of a place so celebrated in all ages, no less in the most remote antiquity than in more modern times.

It stands on the declivity of a hill, which runs from west to east, and faces the south, forming a spacious amphitheatre, at the foot of which is the port, a large oval bason, near a mile in length, but not so much as half that in breadth. The entrance of this port is formed by the separation of two hills, and defended by two strong fortresses placed one on each hill. The greatest part of the city is, by means of this arrangement, exposed to the south ; the port above all, around which is a large quay, enjoys such a delightful southern sun and shelter from the north, that in the severest wind no cold can be felt there. The port, from the view of the galleys and the numerous vessels of all nations with which it is constantly filled, as well as from the diversity of the shops that border it, and the variety of merchandise exposed to sale in them, forms a promenade equally commodious and agreeable.

The town is filled, as we have already observed, with innumerable springs and fountains. The waters of these running down the kennels keep the streets constantly washed, and carry all the filth into the port. But although the port receives,

it cannot imbibe any bad smell from these washings, nor can they occasion any infectious vapours to exhale from it ; since, its mouth being narrow, there is always a current which renews the waters. Besides, there are a number of pontoons constantly employed in cleansing it, and carrying away the mud and slime into the open sea.

Behind the hill on which the city stands, a large plain extends itself for more than two leagues, which is bounded by very high mountains, forming again an amphitheatre round the plain, the city, and the port. These mountains, as well as various little eminences which diversify and ornament the territory, abound with rosemary, thyme, lavender, and other aromatic herbs ; while the soil, naturally sterile and ungrateful, is become, by the industry of the inhabitants, among the most smiling and fertile on the globe. An immense number of country houses, to the amount, as it is said, of eight thousand, and called by the name of *bastides*, are scattered all over the plain ; which, from the singularity of their arrangement, and variety of their sizes and forms, contribute greatly to the beautifying and embellishing it, and give the appearance of a second city*. The

* They rather form the appearance of a vast camp. They are said now, by some persons, to amount to ten thousand ; others, who speak with less moderation, estimate them at fifteen thousand ; and those who speak with no moderation at

slopes are everywhere planted with vines, olives, and fig-trees : the fruit of the latter are of so exquisite a flavour, and so celebrated, that they are called for distinction the *figs of Marseilles* ; and the wines are so delicious, that Martial gave them the appellation of *foaming wines*. The rest of this plain is laid out in gardens filled with fruit-trees of various kinds ; it is watered by a number of rivulets, and one river pretty considerable, called the Haveanne. All these, after embellishing the country and fertilizing the lands, empty themselves into the sea.

With such natural advantages, to which may be added, above all, the genial mildness of the climate, Marseilles may safely be pronounced one of the most desirable places of abode in the whole kingdom. It is accordingly very rare indeed that epidemic diseases prevail there. I have never witnessed any, except that which followed the severe winter of 1709, and which arose from the general derangement in the elements, occasioned by so extraordinary a season ; a disease which was common to all parts of France. The physicians indeed assert, that the ordinary maladies which in other towns follow the revolutions of the seasons are scarcely ever felt here, or at most all, extend them to thirty thousand. I believe ten thousand to be about the truth ; and this is a prodigious number for the size of the territory.

that a very small number are affected by them.

Whence then could arise that infection in the air which it has been pretended occasioned the dreadful catastrophe we have just experienced? Will it be said that it was brought from some distant country by a fatal wind? But let the advocates for such a system first prove that the contagious miasmata are sufficiently consolidated together, not to be dispersed and dissipated by so long a voyage.

Still less could this infection arise from other causes, to which some have been eager to impute them, but which had no real existence, either in the city or its neighbourhood. No derangement had taken place in the seasons, either in this or the preceding years. The winds, the rains, the heat, and the cold, had all followed their usual course; no malady of any kind had appeared among us; no malignant fever or small-pox, which showed an epidemic tendency in the constitution;—no comet, no meteor, fatal presages of an approaching calamity, had given cause to fear that we have experienced. What then could have rendered the air so impure, as to produce the terrible malady which it has been accused of having occasioned?

Bad food is considered as another cause from which epidemic diseases proceed. But as little can we seek in this the origin of our late affliction.

Rarely have we known a year more abundant in the fruits of the earth, or when they were of a superior quality. Some perhaps may ascribe the calamity to the superabundance of fruit, which is the sort of food, of all others, the most liable to corruption, and which forms a considerable part of the nourishment of the poor. This, at first sight, wears some face of plausibility; and the rather, since many of those first attacked by the disease voided a number of worms. But where have we an instance of the maladies arising from eating a too great quantity of fruit extending themselves with such violence, becoming epidemic, or producing such fatal effects?

From all that has been observed it results, that the late contagion which desolated Marscilles cannot be imputed to any of the general causes of common epidemic diseases. It could only then have been brought either by persons, or merchandise infected with it. The facts we are going to relate will, we trust, sufficiently develop its origin, and save us the trouble of bringing any arguments to prove it. This is the rather to be desired, as facts, public and well established, are a species of proof much more substantial and forcible, than any which result from even the most solid and best combined reasonings.

CHAP. III.

Beginning of the plague in the infirmary.

MARSEILLES is, by its situation, the most convenient town in all France for the commerce of the Levant, and the genius and industry of the inhabitants support well the advantages of their situation. It was to favour this commerce that it was first established as a free port, by an exemption from the payment of customs being granted to all merchandise that entered it. But since the countries of the Levant are frequently desolated by the plague, and that there is always danger of the commodities which come from those parts being infected with this malady, an infirmary or lazaretto has been erected without the city, where ships coming from the Levant and other suspected parts are obliged to land their cargoes. All the different sorts of merchandise are here unpacked, and exposed to the air till they are purified from any danger of infection. The crews are also detained there in quarantine, while the vessels themselves are commonly sent for purification to Jarre, a small island at a little distance from Marseilles.

This infirmary forms a large enclosure, where are barracks to lodge the common class of people,

with apartments for the officers of the ships, and for passengers of distinction. There are also large warehouses for the merchandise, with proper officers appointed to inspect the purification of them, to preserve good order in the place, and to superintend the observance of every regulation established for the preservation of the public health and safety. The *echevins** of the city appoint

* We shall find these magistrates, through the course of this narrative, called indiscriminately by the title of consuls and *echevins*; but they ought to be called exclusively by the latter title. The consular government at Marseilles was abolished by Louis the Fourteenth, in the year 1660, on account of the turbulence of the Marseillais, and their perpetual quarrels in the election of their magistrates, and *echevins* were substituted in the place of the consuls. These quarrels had long subsisted; till at length, in this year, they rose to such a height, that, in the latter end of January, the king sent the duke de Vendome to Marseilles, at the head of six thousand men, to restore order in the place. The duke on his arrival stripped the consuls of their *chaperons**; which was the signal of depriving them of their offices. The *chaperons* were sent to Aix, whence they were never brought back.

The duke, having taken the command of the city in the name of his majesty, caused the royal gate to be pulled down, and a large breach to be made in the walls, to the infinite astonishment of the Marseillais. In the beginning of March following, the king resolving finally to put an end to the quarrels which had so long divided the city, and to establish sundry regulations to prevent the renewal of them in future,

* The *chaperon* was a piece of ermine worn by the consuls over the left shoulder.

every year sixteen intendants of health, who are chosen from among the principal merchants of the

came himself to Marseilles. But, to punish and humble the factious Marseillais, he would not enter by the gates in form, as a sovereign coming to make a visit of affection to his faithful subjects, but made his entry by the breach above mentioned, accompanied by Anne of Austria, his mother, Philip duke of Anjou, his brother, the prince of Conti, cardinal Mazarin, the pope's nuncio, &c. &c.

Besides the abolishing the consular government, and establishing the echevinage in its place, one of the new regulations now made was, that all persons noble by birth should be excluded from this new magistracy; and that the echevins should always be chosen from among the merchants roturiers*. This gave occasion to a great contest near a century after, in the year 1758, between the gentlemen merchants and the merchants roturiers, on an application being made to government by the former, to be re-established in a participation of the magistracy. A number of memorials were published on this occasion on both sides; but no decision was ever made, and the matter rested as before. A very singular circumstance in this controversy was, that the last memorial was written in the French language by a Chinese mandarin, who was travelling incognito about Europe, and happened to be then at Marseilles. If the periods be not turned with all the

* It is to be observed, that a great difference subsisted in France between the *haute noblesse* and the nobles of the inferior class. The latter corresponded to the rank of gentleman in England; and it was not considered as absolutely impossible for persons of this class to engage in commerce,—a thing which could never be admitted among the *haute noblesse*. It was the merchants who were of gentlemen's families that were excluded from the echevinage by the new regulation. The *roturiers* are the whole class not belonging to gentlemen's families, or, in other words, the *tiers état*.

city, and who regulate the time of quarantine, and the entries of the merchandise ; who are, in short,

elegance of which the language is capable, it is at least very correctly written, and in an easy and flowing style.

He begins with saying :—“ It will, no doubt, appear surprising that a foreigner, an inhabitant of one of the remotest corners of the earth, of a nation regarded by many persons as perfectly barbarous, should conceive the design of writing in a language with which he has only become acquainted since his residence in the country where it is the mother-tongue. But in the astonishment it will excite is to be found the motive of the enterprise. The esteem and respect in which the Chinese the best instructed hold the French nation, and in which I have always held it myself, having been the original cause of my quitting my own country, to become acquainted with the most celebrated portion of the earth,—celebrated in particular for the progress her sons have made in the sciences,—I was determined to study and make myself fully acquainted with the French tongue, as the language of the people who play the principal part on the theatre of the world.

“ It appeared to me, then, that I could not leave a more appropriate monument of my gratitude for the advantages I have received from my abode in this kingdom, and of the veneration in which I hold the people who inhabit it, than a work written in their language. The progress which the English and Germans have made in acquiring that language has warmly excited my emulation ; and the contest, of which I have been a witness, between the two principal orders of citizens at Marseilles, seems to afford me a favourable opportunity at once of testifying my gratitude to the nation at large, and the peculiar interest I take in whatever concerns this city.”

Such are the motives which he professes induce him to write. His reasonings on the pretensions of the different par-

the directors of the infirmary. It is in this place that the plague first broke out in the manner we are about to relate *.

ties are plain and sensible ; and he concludes with giving it as his opinion, that the claim of the gentlemen merchants was just. All his reflections evince a sound understanding and an excellent heart.

Another application made by the gentlemen merchants in 1766, to be restored to their antient privileges, was more successful ; and the magistracy was once more opened to them.

* From one of the various memorials written in the controversy between the gentlemen and the citizens on the subject of the echevinage, it appears that, before the time of which this narrative treats, the infirmary or lazaretto was inclosed only with a single wall, over which it was no uncommon practice for persons shut up in quarantine to throw packets of linen and other goods for their friends in the town, which very possibly were not sufficiently purified, and endangered the carrying the infection into the city. After the cessation of the plague of 1720, a second wall was added at some distance from the first, so that since that time this practice has become impossible. At present nothing can be better regulated than the lazaretto, nor can greater precautions be taken for the prevention of all communication between the persons within, and the inhabitants of the city. The good effects of this attention have been felt very sensibly. Since that time the city has never been visited with this dreadful calamity. The situation of the lazaretto is singularly happy for the purpose to which it is destined. It stands upon a high rock on the sea-shore, without the town, and surrounds a small port, where the crews and cargoes of the vessels are landed without their approaching the town. Thus it not only enjoys the advantage of an air most

Scarcely had a rumour arrived at Marseilles that the plague raged in the Levant, when captain Chataud arrived from thence with a vessel richly laden on the account of many of our most capital merchants. She had parted from Seyde, a town in Syria*, on the 31st of January 1720, and arrived at Marseilles the 25th of May following, with a certificate that at her departure from Seyde there was no suspicion of any contagious disease being in the town. It was however afterwards discovered, that not many days subsequent to her departure the plague began to manifest itself at Seyde, and it is well known that when once this disease appears openly in any place, the germ of the malady has already been lurking there some time.

From Seyde captain Chataud proceeded to Tripoli, where he was obliged to stop and repair the masts of his vessel. This latter place not being far from Seyde, there is very frequent communication between the two towns, which, spite of the danger of contagion, is always permitted and always remains perfectly free. At Tripoli the captain took in a quantity of fresh merchandise of various kinds; and he was also compelled to re-

pure, but, from having all things landed within its own bosom, it is secured from the dangers that might arise, supposing they were to be transported to any distance from the shore.

* The antient Sidon.

ceive on board, as passengers, some Turks, who were to be landed at the Isle of Cyprus. Still he had certificates of health from both the last-named places. One of the Turks fell sick on the passage, and died in a very few days. Two sailors were ordered to heave the corpse overboard; but scarcely had they touched the body for this purpose than the master of the ship called them away, and ordered that the service should be performed by the comrades of the deceased. The body was accordingly thrown into the sea by the remaining Turks, with the cords about it which had served to take it up.

Not many days after, the two sailors who had touched the body fell sick, and died after a very short illness; and in a few days more two others of the crew, one of whom was the surgeon of the ship, were attacked with the same symptoms as the sailors, and died also very suddenly. These repeated deaths so alarmed the captain, that he thought it expedient, during the remainder of the voyage, to keep himself apart from the crew in the poop of the vessel, whence he issued out his orders. Three other sailors falling sick, the captain put them on shore at Leghorn, where they died in the same manner as the former. From this place he brought a certificate, signed by the physician and surgeon of the infirmary where the men died, that their malady was a malignant and

pestilential fever. On arriving at Marseilles this certificate was remitted by him to the intendants of health, with a declaration on his part that four other of his crew had died, on the passage, of the same malady.

Notwithstanding this open and explicit conduct on the part of the captain, he was directed to land his cargo at the lazaretto, contrary to the usual practice of sending vessels suspected of having the plague on board, and who had lost a part of the crew on the passage, to the Island of Jarre*. Surely there never was an occasion when such a precaution was more necessary than in the instance of a ship arriving who had lost seven of her crew, and who had a certificate on board that they died of a pestilential disease.

Two days after the arrival of the ship another sailor died. His body was carried to the lazaretto, and examined by Mons. Guierard, the surgeon in ordinary, who declared that there was no symptom of the plague about it. This surgeon, who had a high reputation, and certainly much experience in the malady, appears however to have

* At present the vessels commence their quarantine at another island, called Pomegues, nearer to Marseilles than Jarre, and finish it in a part of the port of Marseilles itself, destined solely to this purpose, and strictly guarded, so that these vessels cannot have any communication with the shore, or with the other vessels in the port.

formed his judgment only on the external appearance of the body, which very possibly might be free from any of those tumours commonly attendant on the plague, and which became afterwards so universal. The debarkation of the cargo was consequently continued; and the intendants of health appointed a quarantine of forty days, to begin from the day on which the last bale was landed.

Three other ships arrived from the Levant on the 31st of May, and a fourth on the 12th of June, all bearing brevets that there was a suspicion of the plague at the respective places whence they departed. This did not prevent their being treated with the same lenity* as the vessel of captain Chataud;—their cargoes were all landed at the lazaretto.

The sickness and mortality, however, continued on board the vessel of the latter. On the 12th of June the guardian† died; and on the 23d one of the boys belonging to the ship fell sick, together with two of the porters employed in unpacking the bales of merchandise. These all died in three days. At the same time also died a porter employed about the merchandise brought in one of the ships which had arrived subsequent to that of

* It was rather treating them with *levity* than *lenity*.

† This is an officer put on board every ship to guard it during the time of its quarantine.

captain Chataud. Still the surgeon of the infirmary persisted in asserting that their death was not occasioned by any pestilential disease. Whether this proceeded from ignorance or obstinacy cannot now be decided. From whatever cause it proceeded, he paid severely the forfeit of his fault in his own death and that of his whole family, from the dreadful calamity which it was perhaps in his power to have prevented.

So many sudden deaths could not fail to make a strong impression upon the intendants of health, who now sent all these vessels to the Island of Jarre, there to recommence their quarantine. At the same time the porters employed about the merchandise were shut up in the warehouses with the goods, and all communication between them and the other persons in the lazaretto was prohibited.

On the 5th of July two of these porters were seized with the same malady which had carried off the others, accompanied with tumours under the arms. But in vain did this dreadful malady thus manifest itself by the most palpable of all symptoms; still the surgeon persisted in his assertion, that it was nothing more than a common malignant fever. A third was seized soon after in the same way, with the addition of a bubo on the outside of the thigh. An infection so decided gave very serious alarm to the intendants of

health; and beginning to distrust the skill of their surgeon, they resolved to take other opinions.

Accordingly the master-surgeon of the hospital belonging to the galleys, with another surgeon who had made many voyages to the Levant, both persons of high reputation in their profession, were desired to attend at the infirmary for the examination of these three men. They attended accordingly, accompanied by Mons. Guierard, and immediately declared them infected with the plague. This examination was made on the 8th of July; and the death of the men on the morrow sufficiently confirmed the truth of the opinion delivered by the surgeons. The following was the report made by these gentlemen on this occasion :

“ We, the undersigned, sworn master-surgeons of this city, certify :—That, at the invitation of Messrs. the intendants of health, we attended at the infirmary on the 8th of this present July, to visit three men recently fallen sick of a violent malady ;—that having taken very particular information from the surgeon of the said infirmary, respecting the manner of their seizure, we learn that, about a fortnight since, three porters having opened and turned some bales of cotton, the said porters were immediately seized with a low fever, having a very faint pulse, accompa-

nied with violent sickness and head-ache, and that they died on the fourth day after this attack, without any external symptom of disease ;—that three other porters having turned the same bales of cotton, and opened them in another part, likewise fell sick with symptoms much more alarming ;—that we, the said surgeons, being conducted by the surgeon of the infirmary to these latter, and having desired the surgeon's assistant to uncover the bodies of the sufferers, they appeared to us all to have tumours in the groin, which the said assistant touched in our presenee, declaring that they were of the bigness of a hen's egg. It appeared to us, moreover, that one of the diseased had a pustule on the thigh which discharged ;—and having informed ourselves of the other symptoms, the said assistant assured us that the patients had a very weak pulse, with very little fever, the eyes sunk in the head, the tongue dry and loaded, with a constant pain in the head. From all this we are led to judge that these patients are infected with a pestilential fever. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, this 8th day of July, A. D. 1720.

“ CROIZEE, surgeon-major to the hospital
of the galleys ;

“ BOUZON, sworn master-surgeon.”

A report so decisive and clear, and so well jus-

tified by the event, was sufficient to rouse to the utmost the vigilance of the intendants of health. The infected merchandise was immediately sent away to the Island of Jarre, where, in the sequel, it was burned, together with the vessel, by order of the court. Some days after the priest, who had administered the last sacraments to the sick, died of the same disease.

It is proper here to remark, that on board the other ships, which arrived after captain Chataud's, no person died, nor was there any appearance of sickness either during the voyage, or in the time of performing quarantine. It is true, indeed, as has been already mentioned, that a porter, employed about some of the merchandise brought in one of these vessels, died; but he had also been employed about the merchandise of captain Chataud's vessel, and had even been compelled to enter one of the men who had died. Of this the clerk belonging to the merchandise of the other ship complained very heavily at the moment, alleging that if this man should die it would bring suspicion upon his cargo, and be the means of prolonging the quarantine of his vessel.

Notwithstanding so much just cause of alarm, the passengers who came in all these ships, even in that of captain Chataud, were permitted to quit the infirmary, and take up their quarters in the town, after performing only the ordinary quaran-

tine of passengers, which is from fifteen to twenty days. They were even permitted to take with them their clothes, and little private packets of merchandise, with no other precaution than to fumigate them somewhat more than usual. Those who could permit the passengers to quit the infirmary under circumstances so alarming, after so short a quarantine, and with so little precaution, must have had a very enlarged faith in the power of fumigation. Was it possible for this alone to destroy a venom so subtle, imbibed by the body, or to correct the noxious qualities of infected clothes and merchandise, which had not been exposed a sufficient length of time to the air ?

Hitherto all that had passed was in secret, in the bosom of the infirmary : but a report so decisive, and from such good authority as that of the surgeons, precluded the possibility of any further concealment of the menaced calamity. Advice of what had passed was in consequence remitted to the court, and to the constituted authorities of the province. It is not permitted to us to penetrate any further. Such was the commencement of the plague at the lazaretto :—we proceed now to detail its consequences, and the progress it made into the city.

CHAP. IV.

Beginning of the plague in the city.

WHILE the utmost efforts that prudence could suggest were employed to stop the progress of this calamity, by removing the infected merchandise from the infirmary, and using various methods of purification to destroy any smothering embers of contagion which might have been left by those who had died—while every avenue to this place was strictly guarded, and all intercourse between that and the city was absolutely forbidden to all ranks and degrees of persons—and while, by these precautions, wise, though tardy, every one believed himself in security—while thus lulled asleep, the poison already began to circulate, and to insinuate itself in various parts.

A woman in the Rue de Belle Table fell sick on the 20th of June with a carbuncle on the lip : the surgeon of the hospital of *La Misericorde*, who attended her, advertised the magistrates of this circumstance, who sent the surgeon of the infirmary to her assistance. This latter showed no more skill in the city than he had shown in the lazaretto, and pronounced that it was no more than a common carbuncle. The 28th, a taylor fell sick,

and, with his whole family, died in a few days ; but this was regarded only as a common malignant fever. On the first of July a man in the Rue de l'Escale was attacked with a similar malady, with the addition of a carbuncle upon the nose ; and he was followed by another in the same street, who threw out a number of tumours. In a short time after, scarcely a house in this street was free from disease, the evil spreading gradually from house to house on each side of that where it had first begun.

Thus, scarcely was the apprehension of the plague from the infirmary somewhat calmed, when the alarm of its spreading in the city began to trouble the false repose into which the inhabitants were lulled. Messrs. Peysonnel, father and son, physicians, on the 9th of July gave advice to the echevins, of a boy of twelve years of age in the Place de Linche, which is far removed from the Rue de l'Escale, being beyond all doubt attacked by the plague. On this information, the echevins placed a guard at the door of the house. The boy died the next day, and his sister fell sick : the whole family were in consequence removed by night to the infirmary, and the door of the house was walled up. Not one of these unfortunate persons escaped, they all fell victims to the malady.

Many different accounts were circulated of the

manner in which this lad was supposed to have brought the infection from the infirmary into the town ; but, when they were followed up, nothing satisfactory could be discovered. His sister, who was attacked after him, followed the trade of a mantua-maker ; and it was conjectured by some persons, that in the course of her work she might have had things given her to make up, of materials which came from the infected ship, and that the malady might thus have been brought into the house. It is more probable, however, that it was the brother who first brought the infection, since it will be seen, in the sequel, that the children were always the most liable to take it.

This alarm was soon followed by another. On the morrow of the death of this lad, that is to say, on the 11th of July, one of the passengers on board captain Chataud's ship, by name Boyal, who had been permitted to quit the infirmary, fell sick. The surgeon who attended him found a bubo under the arm : this was immediately communicated to the echevins, and a guard was placed on the house. The man died the same day, and in the night the body was carried to the infirmary, where it was interred by the porters who were confined there. Every person belonging to the house was also conveyed to the infirmary ; the house was shut up, and some days of quarantine ordered to all who had frequented it. It is difficult to decide whether

this man had taken the infection in his own person in the ship, or in the infirmary—or whether it might not have proceeded from some articles of merchandise he had brought with him. All that can be said for certain is, that had he been detained longer in quarantine, time would have been given for the malady to declare itself.

After these, no other instance of the malady appeared for some time ; the minds of the inhabitants began to be somewhat tranquillized upon the subject, and the magistrates felicitated themselves on the happy success of the precautions taken to stifle such a calamity in its birth. Already the public, prone to delude themselves, and easy to believe what they wish to be true, attributed the malady of these persons to any thing rather than to the plague, and began even to joke upon their own alarms. But the subtle destroyer, mocking alike the precautions of the wise and the jokes of the incredulous, was secretly insinuating itself far and wide ; and from the Rue de l'Escaie, which we have already mentioned, began to spread into other parts in the neighbourhood. In the *Place des Precheurs*, the son of a salesman was attacked and died, and his death was followed soon after by the fall of the whole family. In the Rue de l'Oratoire a mantua-maker fell sick ; she recovered, but all the rest of her family perished. The great theatre of the malady was, however,

still in the Rue de l'Escale, where Mons. Sicard, physician to the hospital of *La Misericorde*, attended. He found most of the diseased attacked with the same symptoms, some with carbuncles, others with bubos. On the morrow he found the diseased of the former day dead; and those who appeared in health the former day, diseased. No doubt could now be entertained respecting this malady; and on the 18th of July he gave information to the echevins of what he had witnessed.

This new declaration, made by a physician who daily visited the sick, joined to the testimonies which had preceded it, ought, doubtless, to have excited the same zeal and attention in the magistrates, as they had shown in the former instances with such good effect: but, by what fatality it is difficult to decide, they only answered calmly, that they would send Mons. Bouzon, the surgeon, to examine the patients. Such an answer was not very encouraging to the zeal and attention of the other physicians, who had hitherto been so active in this affair. Mons. Bouzon visited the patients on the 19th, and said they had only worm-fevers. Without seeking to penetrate the reasons which might actuate this surgeon to disguise the truth, we would rather suppose that he really did not recognise the malady—it would have been indeed difficult to recognise it, since we are informed that he never touched the patients, only talked

with them at a distance*. This is the more surprising, as, in the first instance, when he was called in to give his opinion at the infirmary, he observed a conduct directly the reverse.

Be this as it may, on his authority the public mind was again tranquillized—the sick, abandoned to their fate, received the sacraments as usual, were buried after the usual manner, and the communication between this street and the rest of the town was left free as before. Mons. Sicard continued to visit the sick, and found every day fresh instances of the malady in the same quarter; but he no longer communicated his alarms, to avoid exposing himself to the same slight as he had before received. Thus the contagion insensibly spread itself, till at length the consternation became very serious, by the death of fourteen persons in one day, and the illness of a much greater number. This was on the 23d of July.

* The conduct of this surgeon, in only talking with the patients at a distance, appears extremely equivocal, and to carry with it its own condemnation. No possible reason could subsist for his not touching the sick, supposing him convinced they had only worm-fevers; whereas, it is a commonly received opinion, among persons conversant with the Levant, that the plague is only communicable by the touch. He was probably impressed with this idea, and acted upon it, though he had not frankness enough, at the same time, to give his true opinion of the malady.

Such a mortality in the same street could not fail to be noised abroad, and to make a strong impression on the public mind. The pastors of the parish where it happened communicated the alarming tidings to the magistrates, who, at length awakened by the clamours with which they were assailed, appointed Mons. Peyssonnel the physician, with Mons. Bouzon their confidential surgeon, to visit the sick officially. They made their progress through the street on the 24th, and found a variety of persons newly attacked. The author of the *Journal of Marseilles*, supposing that what ought to have been done was done in fact; viz. that many physicians were employed to make this visitation in concert, and give in their opinions on a subject of such importance—the author of the *Journal*, I say, supposing this to have been done, tells us, that one was of opinion it was a common malignant fever; another, an infectious fever arising from unwholesome food; another this, and another that; but no one pronounced it positively to be the plague. It is not, however, the less certain, that the only physician employed was Mons. Peyssonnel, and that he pronounced decidedly that it was the plague. It was the surgeon alone who flattered the magistrates with hopes to the contrary. However this be, it is certain it was a thing of which the magistrates might easily have assured themselves.

The whole kingdom, meanwhile, saw with astonishment, in a city where there was a college and a corporate body of physicians, and where a malady of so alarming a nature had broke out, that a consultation of the most eminent among them was not immediately appointed, to investigate and decide upon its probable causes and consequences. It was not the part of true wisdom, nor what was to be expected of a well-regulated administration, in an affair of such immense public importance to rely upon the opinion of a single surgeon, and to rest in a fatal uncertainty upon the nature of an evil which draws after it such dreadful consequences. Guards were, however, placed in the avenues to the Rue de l'Escaie; the sick, with some others who had had intercourse with them, were carried to the infirmary; and, to avoid alarming the people, these expeditions were only made in the night, and with the utmost privacy.

But all this did not prevent the evil from increasing continually, and spreading into other quarters. It began to appear in the suburbs, and the sick were immediately carried to the infirmary, where the greater part died, because the proper persons were not informed of their state on their arrival, nor perhaps till the second or third day after, when all assistance was vain. The number of the sick thus increasing daily in the infirmary, the echevins at length applied to the

college for a physician, who should remain there entirely, to administer the proper succour to the afflicted. The lot fell on Mons. Michel, who being the last received into the college, and being unembarrassed by a family, had less reason than the rest of the confraternity to consider himself as dispensed with from attendance on this dangerous and painful duty. He indeed accepted the office with the warmest philanthropy, and entered upon it immediately. This was about the end of July.

It will, perhaps, be expected of us, before we proceed further in relating the progress of the contagion, to pause for a moment, and consider whether it was carried from the infirmary into the city, and by what means. This inquiry seems, indeed, to constitute an integral part in our history; but we had rather leave it defective in this instance, than render any one, be he who he may, responsible for so many misfortunes, and hold him up as an object of odium and resentment to the public. We have, besides, promised not to give any thing on conjecture only; to report nothing but facts well known and well proved. This precaution is the more necessary, as we are at present at the most delicate period of our history, in which we prefer to show our moderation by silence, rather than hazard the pronouncing too rashly on a point on which no decision ought

to be formed but on the most solid and palpable proofs.

What is very certain is, that the plague was on board the ship of captain Chataud ; that it was communicated to the infirmary by the merchandise with which she was freighted ; and that one of the first who fell sick in the city had been passenger in the ship, and had only quitted the infirmary a few days, with his clothes : that the first families attacked were those of a mantua-maker, a taylor, and a salesman, persons who buy all sorts of clothes and merchandise ; and that among the very early victims of the distemper were the family of a famous contraband trader, near the convent of the Carmes, and those of some other contraband traders who resided in the Rue de l'Escale and its neighbourhood : that the suburb adjoining the infirmary was attacked nearly at the same time with the Rue de l'Escale ; and that, in short, fresh prohibitions were from this time issued against importing the printed cottons and silk or woollen stuffs of the Levant. We leave to our readers to make the reflections naturally suggested by these facts.

CHAP. V.

First period of the plague.—The physicians employed to visit the sick pronounce them to be infected with the plague.—Incredulity of the public.

ALTHOUGH we would by no means adopt the popular superstitions respecting the appearance of signs in the heavens, which precede any great calamity, we must not omit here to remark, that on the 21st of July, the heavens having been all day covered with heavy clouds, which had descended in torrents of rain, a circumstance very unusual at Marseilles in this season of the year, in the night came on a storm of thunder and lightning, so violent and so terrible that the oldest man living never remembered to have seen the like. The whole city was in the utmost consternation—many houses were struck with the lightning, but no person received any injury. This tempest was considered as the fatal herald which announced the approach of the most dreadful mortality the city had ever experienced. From this moment the calamity daily increased, and began to manifest itself in every quarter.

Mons. Peyssonnel the physician, and Mons. Bouzon the surgeon, continued to visit the sick; and, upon their declarations, they were carried to

the infirmary ; but still by night, to give as little alarm as possible to the public : and the consuls, animated with a new zeal, assisted themselves by turns, in person, at these nocturnal expeditions. But Mons. Peyssonnel, too old and infirm to support long the fatigues he endured, was soon obliged to delegate his office to his son, a young man not yet received into the college. In the ardor of youth this latter, not foreseeing the fatal consequences of spreading a general alarm, talked every where, publicly and without reserve, of the plague being in the city ; and even wrote to the neighbouring towns and villages to give the alarm among them, and warn them to avoid carefully all intercourse with Marseilles. It was in consequence of this that the parliament of Provence immediately issued a thundering decree, forbidding, on pain of death, all communication between the rest of the inhabitants of that province and Marseilles.

Meanwhile, the public loudly complained that no physicians of eminence were employed to attend upon the sick. Every one demanded to be informed, in plain and categorical terms, of the real nature of the malady—every one demanded such a decision, that he might form his determination for his own personal safety accordingly. Thus, at length, whether urged by these complaints and cries, or whether really alarmed by the

daily increase of the number of diseased, the echevins did what they ought to have done long before,—they demanded from the syndic of the college four physicians, to be allotted each to their respective parts of the city; from the body of surgeons they demanded four masters in the profession, with each one an assistant; and they named at the same time four apothecaries to furnish the necessary medicines. The physicians*, each with his surgeon and assistant, immediately began their rounds; but still they were only four, in a city of so great extent that at such a moment ten would scarcely have sufficed.

They had not entered above two days on their painful office, when they thought it their duty to make a declaration before the magistrates, that the contagion which reigned in the city not only was undoubtedly the plague, but was even the plague of the most dreadful nature that had long appeared. In this opinion the physicians and surgeons were alike unanimous: no one pretended the smallest doubt; no one said it was a malignant fever, caused by poverty or unwholesome food, as the author of the *Journal of Marscilles* pretended. Their sentiments were always the same, they never varied a moment in their assertions, and the event

* One of these was Mons. Bertrand, the author of this narrative. The others were Messrs. Raymond, Audon, and Robert.

but too well justified all they had said. Impor-
 tuned by the eagerness of the public to be assured
 of the truth, they regarded it as a duty to satisfy
 their wishes ; and, assured themselves of the fact,
 they knew that they hazarded nothing in de-
 claring it. The alarm had already been widely
 circulated by Mons. Peyssonnel the younger : and
 the Messrs. Sicard, father and son, who had at-
 tended those first attacked in their own quarter of
 the hospital of La Misericorde, conceiving they had
 just cause of complaint, that so little credit had
 been given to their opinion, spread every where,
 as a justification of themselves, the new and more
 terrible reasons that had appeared to confirm it.
 Besides, it was now a duty no longer to attempt
 concealing a calamity which was become so cer-
 tain, since it was of the utmost importance that
 every one should concur in taking measures alike
 to stop its progress, and to prevent, if possible,
 the disorders which often arise in a city on such
 an occasion.

But the declaration of these physicians and
 surgeons made no more impression on the magis-
 trates, or on the minds of the public in general,
 than that of the Messrs. Sicard had done. The
 echévins, on the contrary, far from giving credit
 to a report so explicit and so authentic, posted
 bills up in the town, in which they announced,
 that those to whom the visitation of the sick was

devolved declared, that the disease which reigned was only a common inalignant fever, caused by poverty and unwholesome food. We are willing to believe that they did this with a view to calm the public mind, rather than that they could hesitate any longer to believe a fact so well authenticated. The measure, perhaps, had been good, had it been attended with all the precautions which the fact rendered expedient.

In effect, though the magistrates had hitherto acted as if this malady were really the plague, in transporting the sick to the infirmary and shutting up their houses; yet now, whether it were that the infirmary was so full it could contain no more, or that they really no longer regarded the malady as contagious, the sick, notwithstanding that they daily increased in numbers, were left in their own houses. On the 7th of August, the physicians found in their visits thirty fresh objects attacked, and as many dead; and every day from that time this number increased. But though these gentlemen gave up their whole time and attention in the most generous manner possible to the painful task they had undertaken, making no arrangement for recompense, but leaving that entirely to the generosity of the magistrates, the latter, not content with having shown such a want of confidence in their opinions, even cast aspersions on their honour, and accused them of wanting to

make a Mississippi of this affair. This was the very term of which they made use.

Their fellow-citizens, in like manner, giving but too readily into this idea, publicly insulted the physicians in the streets, reproaching them loudly with increasing, from sordid views of gain, the evil they were called upon to restrain. The physicians, however, animated with a true zeal to serve an ungrateful country, passed over in silence reproaches which merited only contempt: and such are always the reproaches of a blind and misguided populace. The only thing which gave them real pain was, that some of the principal citizens of the place, men of sense and understanding, should adopt these prejudices, and write to different places letters full of the most odious accusations against them. Among these, a total ignorance of their profession was the least obnoxious. To what strange deviations from reason and common sense will not a blind incredulity lead mankind!

Two things in particular favoured the mistaken confidence of the public. One was, that Mons. Michel, the physician who had been allotted to the infirmary, asserted in a letter to the echevins, that the sick under his care were only afflicted, some with *ennui*, arising from weariness at the confinement, the others with a very common malady, proceeding from irregularity of life, and

for which they had more need of mercury than any other medicine. But this *very common malady*, as well as *ennui*, proved to the unhappy victims mortal diseases : scarcely one of these patients survived the third day. The second circumstance which contributed strongly to confirm the public incredulity was, a report industriously circulated, that many of the sick had voided a great quantity of worms both above and below. This was sufficient to complete the unfavourable impression and unworthy suspicions conceived against the physicians, and to establish the opinion, that the malady was only a putrid fever, arising from the general unwholesomeness of the food, and particularly from the superabundance of fruit.

This opinion appeared the more plausible, inasmuch as, for a considerable time, none but the poor and children were attacked. The plague, said these sceptics, takes a very different course in its ravages ; it spares neither rank nor age. They could not believe in the contagion, unless they saw their fellow-citizens fall in heaps in the streets, the rich attacked like the poor, and the evil spread all around with a resistless impetuosity. Unhappy victims of your own obstinate incredulity ! soon, soon shall you see all this, and more than this—wait but a moment, and a frightful carnage shall force conviction upon you. The

fire of the contagion spreads in every part—already your ears are struck with the number of sudden deaths which each new day announces—the most incredulous and the most hardy are among the first victims ; and the rich begin to fall, no more exempt than the poor.

Doubts and fears are now seen to take place of this blind confidence. It is demanded that the bodies of some of the deceased be opened. A waterman, struck with a sudden death, is the first on whom the experiment is made. The physicians employed in visiting the sick are required to attend at this operation.—Mons. Guion, an eminent surgeon in the city, courageously offers to undertake it.—It was performed in the boat itself—every part of the intestines were examined—but the cause of a malady, which manifests itself less by the impressions it makes on the interior parts of the body than by its external symptoms, is sought in vain—the surgeon, however, fell the victim of his zeal ; he died in a few days after.

CHAP. VI.

Popular commotion.—Establishment of barriers.—Progress of the contagion in the citadels.

THE report that a contagious disease raged at Marseilles, which was now circulated throughout the province, hindered the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages from bringing thither their provisions as usual. All communication with the city was indeed forbidden by the parliament under severe penalties ; while the barriers established by these towns precluded the possibility of the Marseillois going themselves to seek them. But Marseilles, rich only from its commerce, cannot subsist without the assistance of its neighbours, to whom it furnishes in return various objects of merchandise which they want. Those objects of food with which she is furnished by the sea are long in coming, and always uncertain :---deprived, therefore, of her usual supplies from the interior of the country, she was soon menaced with the additional calamity of famine. The bakers began to be deficient in corn ; and on the 13th of August they were first unable to make a sufficient supply of bread for the town. In the evening the populace assembled, and ran from street to street insulting and reproaching them.

The marquis de Pilles, governor of the city,

who, from the beginning of the calamity, had always endeavoured by his example to excite the other magistrates to their duty, was at that time in council with them in the Hotel de Ville, to regulate the public affairs, the unhappy situation of which was thus inconceivably increased. Advertised of this disorder, he went himself, accompanied by Mons. Moustier, one of the echevins, to the place where the populace were assembled. He had no occasion for an armed force to quell the tumult. Equally beloved by the people, and esteemed by the higher classes, his presence alone disarmed the irritation of the insurgents, and changed their cries and murmurs into shouts of joy and exultation. Amid these they accompanied him to his own house, and then retired with as much calmness and tranquillity as they had before testified anger and emotion. This evinces how important it is to the public welfare, that the governors should seek no less to gain the hearts of the people by mildness and benevolence, than to keep their minds in awe by a just exercise of their power and authority.

To avert a like disorder in future, and prevent the horrors of the contagion from being augmented by those of famine, the echevins wrote to the intendant of the province, and to the consuls of the city of Aix, to pray them to grant permission for the establishment of markets at some

distance from the city, where barriers should be erected, and whither the country-people should bring their commodities, and the inhabitants of Marseilles should be permitted to go and traffic for them, without any communication except with the barrier between them. These gentlemen, sensible to the misfortunes of the city, consented readily to this proposition ; and a conference was appointed at Notre Dame de la Douanne, between the *procureurs* of the province and our *echevins*, to regulate every thing respecting this plan.

On the day agreed upon, Monsieur le marquis de Vauvenargues, first *procureur* of the province, presented himself at the rendezvous, accompanied by a physician and several gentlemen, and escorted by a party of guards. On the part of Marseilles attended Mons. Estelle, first *echevin*, accompanied only by the secretary of the city. The circumstances certainly did not permit his being followed by a grand suite ; but surely they demanded that he should have taken a physician with him, as was desired by Mons. de Vauvenargues, that the physicians of each party might confer together on the nature of the disease, and the measures to be pursued to prevent its spreading to other places—a thing which, as will be seen in the sequel, was not prevented. But the opinion of the physicians was too well known for them to be admitted by Mons. Estelle to this conference. He concealed

from them, before his departure, the wishes of the procureur, and at his return told them, that those wishes had only come to his knowledge by a letter which he received on the road.

In this conference it was agreed that markets should be established on the two principal roads leading to Marseilles, at two leagues distance from the city, one on the road to Toulon, the other on the road to Aix, with a double barrier at each ; and a third for the sea, at a place called Estaque, towards the west, on the Gulph of Marseilles. At each of these markets, officers were to be appointed by the *procureurs* of the province to preserve order, and prevent all communication between the contracting parties. These officers were to be paid at the expense of the city. This agreement, being ratified by a decree of parliament, was published throughout the country, and the inhabitants were invited to send their commodities to the barriers, where they might be sold without danger. Too much praise cannot be given to the zeal with which all the neighbourhood immediately hastened to the relief of their suffering brethren.

The institution of these barriers soon diminished the dearth which had begun to be so sensibly felt in the city, but it was very far from re-establishing abundance. The distance of the markets unavoidably increased the price of the provisions ; and by a like progression of cause and effect, this ad-

vanced the price of labour. Wine, usually so common and so abundant at Marseilles, followed the fate of other commodities. By the flight of some of the wine-merchants, and the terror of others, the cellars were all shut up. The people, to whom custom has made this liquor a necessary of life, were ready to rise and open the cellars by force, and expose the wine to sale. Meat, which is always brought from a distance, was yet more scarce than other commodities. In short, the city soon suffered almost as much from scarcity as from the contagion itself.

Still all might have been well, had the persons charged with supplying the public wants been to provide only for those of the citizens—but the cares and embarrassments of the dearth increased daily with those of the contagion. The officers of the citadels, who kept their troops strictly shut up within their own walls, now demanded corn and other necessaries of the echevins; threatening, if they were not immediately furnished, to let the soldiers loose upon the city to seize them wherever they were to be found. How provide, in a time of scarcity, for all the wants of a numerous garrison? All the activity and foresight of Mons. Rigord, sub-delegate to the intendant of the province, whose zeal in the service has been long and well known, was necessary to spread in the citadels, in a time of so much

scarcity and disorder, the abundance that reigns in that of the greatest happiness and tranquillity.

But although the citadels are entirely separated from the city, and the garrisons had been kept strictly shut up from the commencement of the contagion, this did not prevent its finally breaking out there. Mons. Audibert, surgeon of the galleys, was commissioned to attend the sick; and the cures he performed at first made a great noise in the city—it was circulated throughout the town, that he had not lost a single patient. The method he pursued was this: He gave them first a strong emetic, which he called his ferret, and then made them drink large quantities of tea or ptisan, after which he purged them well. This plan was proposed to the physicians as a model; but they had already experienced, in a thousand instances, the inefficacy, even the danger, of violent emetics and cathartics, since they often terminated in bringing on a flux, which always proved fatal. Mons. Audibert's method of treatment did not, therefore, produce the same miracles in the town as in the citadels; for I call it a miracle, when, amid a number infected with the plague, not one dies. The most skilful physicians have never been so happy as to experience a like success. Those who have had much practice in this malady know, that, in a majority of instances, it eludes all the skill of the physician and force of medicine.

The utmost that can be said of the success of these violent emetics and reiterated purgations is, that in the practice of physic, as in all other things, a bold stroke sometimes succeeds; but this cannot establish a general rule. There is, then, some reason to believe that those patients were very slightly attacked, or, perhaps, that they had some other malady. For when, in the sequel, the contagion made more determined advances upon the citadels, and those who fell sick had indisputably imbibed its poison, the cures were much less frequent, and the sufferers died there as elsewhere. It is true, that the proportion of those infected, to the number of the whole garrison, was much less than the proportion in the city; but this may justly be attributed to the good order observed, and the strict attention paid to removing every one, the moment any symptom of malady appeared, into an hospital formed for the purpose in a neighbouring bastide. By these means, the contagion entirely ceased in the citadels in the month of December. Mons. Audibert has since published his method of treating the sick—we leave it to those who have made the plague their particular study to decide on the merits of his plan.

CHAP. VII.

Progress of the contagion on board the galleys.

THE charge of the galleys would have occasioned an extraordinary increase of embarrassment to the city, if the superior judgment of those who had the command of them had not taken the most effectual of all means for averting, or at least diminishing, the impending calamity. It is to the prudence and good conduct of the officers that the state owes the preservation of this excellent institution, which is no less the ornament of our city* than the safeguard of our coasts. The event has proved, that the establishment of good order, and a wise police, are the most certain means of preventing the progress of the contagion, and that the most dreadful ravages may be expected from it when these are neglected.

On the first rumour circulated of the plague being in the town, these vessels, by order of the

* The galleys at Marseilles were ranged along the upper part of the south quay, between the Hotel de Ville and the town. They were always considered as a great ornament to the port. The arsenal, to which the convicts were removed during the continuance of the malady, is on the opposite side of the port.

commander in chief, Monsieur le Chevalier de Langeron, were detached from the shore, and anchored in the midst of the port. The rumours continuing, and gaining force, the general officers determined to assure themselves how far they were well or ill-founded; and accordingly demanded of the echevins, that the physician and surgeon attached to the service of the galleys should be permitted to visit the sick in company with those officially appointed by the city. This was granted; and the result of their investigation was a firm conviction, according to the report they delivered in to the commander in chief, that the malady was extremely contagious and pestilential, and that the utmost precautions were necessary to prevent the most fatal consequences. This report was made on the 1st of August.

The truth of the fact being thus ascertained, the officers of the galleys, without paying any attention to popular rumours, or suffering themselves to be influenced either by an obstinate prepossession or a blind incredulity, thought only of placing the men and vessels committed to their charge in a state of security. Nothing appeared more eligible than to range them on the side of the arsenal, and to separate them from the rest of the port by an estacade or barrier in the water. All the avenues to the arsenal were also

closed up by a strong barricade, and there the subaltern officers with the crews were shut up. The superior officers were not confined there entirely, but visited the place twice a day, or more, if they judged that the service demanded it. Thus the whole body of the galleys was cut off entirely from all communication with the city ; which rendered the aspect of the latter yet more solitary and deserted.

But the usual intercourse between the city and the galleys was too free to admit of a hope that the evil had not been already, in some degree, communicated from the one to the other. It was difficult to conceive, that not a single man among the crews, or among the convicts, should have taken an impression of the contagion before the intercourse with the city was precluded. In investigating the history of Boyal, the passenger on board captain Chataud's vessel, who has been already mentioned as among the first attacked by the malady, it was reported that he had slept one night on board the galley *La Gloire*, between the time of his quitting the lazaretto and that of his falling sick. In effect, it was on board this galley that the contagion first broke out, and made the greatest ravages.

Those, however, who asserted that Boyal had passed a night on board *La Gloire* appear to have been in an error ; he certainly had slept on board

La Duchesse. On returning home late one night, he found his house shut up; when the *argousin de garde** belonging to the last-mentioned vessel, who was his intimate friend, received him on board, and even lent him his bed. The *argousin*, when he heard of Boyal's illness, took every precaution possible not to suffer for the act of friendship he had done him—he did not sleep in the same bed, or touch any thing that Boyal had touched;—and since it is certain that the malady first broke out on board *La Gloire*, and not on board *La Duchesse*, Boyal should seem to stand acquitted of having carried the infection among these vessels.

But it was not enough merely to shut up the galleys; it was necessary also to provide for their subsistence, and for the care of the sick. This was done by the general officers with an order and foresight worthy of the rest of their conduct, and well deserving to be cited as a model for any future occasion, if ever a like calamity should be again experienced. *Tartanes*† were provided, which went by turns to seek provisions at the two ports nearest to Marseilles, which are those of Toulon

* The *argousin de garde* was an officer belonging to the galleys, a part of whose office it was to accompany the convicts when they were sent out to work.

† A *tartane* is a small vessel, very light, and so constructed that it can go with all winds.

and Bouc. From thence they brought wood, charcoal, provisions, and every thing necessary for the subsistence of the officers and crews. These were distributed daily in fixed rations—butchers' shops were established in the arsenal, and it was furnished with necessaries of every kind. In short, such excellent arrangements were made, and such exact order was preserved, that, among a body so numerous, not only each individual received every thing essential to his existence, but had even a variety of conveniences, and at a very moderate price; while the city, notwithstanding the enormous sums it expended, was often in want of necessaries.

Nor was less attention paid to the care of the sick, and to the prevention of the progress of the distemper. The hospital for the crews of the galleys, which is behind the citadel, and without the walls of the city, upon the sea-shore, was destined for the reception of the infected. It was vacated immediately, and furnished with every thing necessary for the sick, and proper officers were appointed to superintend it. By this means, all danger of carrying the disease into the hospital of the convicts was avoided; and this was reserved for the sick already received there, as well as for such as might be attacked with any other malady than the general one. But since the galleys were very near this latter, and that one infected being

carried thither would soon have spread the infection over the whole hospital, a sort of intermediary hospital was contrived at the rope-walk, whither, upon the slightest appearance of sickness in any of the crew, the patient was conveyed ; and it was not till the disease was decidedly ascertained that he was carried to the one or the other of the above-mentioned hospitals.

The contagious disease declaring itself in some objects sooner, in others later, disguising itself sometimes, in the commencement, under different appearances, it was arranged that the physicians and surgeons should each visit this intermediary hospital at different hours. Thus eight visits were made in the course of the day ; so that, at whatever period the disease declared itself, it was immediately detected, and the patient was carried to the hospital destined for his reception. The surgeons also made frequent visits, each on board his respective galley, and, on the slightest appearance of indisposition in any one, the patient was instantly transported to the intermediary hospital. The same order was strictly observed on the least appearance of sickness among the persons belonging to the arsenal, who, with their families, were equally shut up there. A boat was always ready at a minute's notice for the conveyance of the sick to their destination, and others were kept in

commission to carry provisions and necessaries of all kinds to the hospitals, at appointed hours of the day.

But while these salutary regulations were made, the malady began to manifest itself on board the galleys. The first attacked were two convicts, who fell sick, the one on the 31st of July, the other on the 1st of August. Several more followed soon after, both among the crews, and the families in the arsenal ; in short, this terrible disease seemed to threaten taking its ordinary course, and being attended with its usual mortality. Its ravages, however, never were so great here as in the city. It followed the same course where it did attack, and terminated at the same period. It was at its greatest height in the month of September, and from that time, till its total cessation in the March following, the numbers of sick every day diminished. The greatest number of sick at a time was commonly from 25 to 30 ; and the greatest number of deaths in one day was 17 ; this happened in the middle of September. In August, there died 170 ; in September, 286 ; in October, 179 ; in November, 89 ; and in December, 38 ; in all, 762. In the months of January and February together, only 15 or 16 died, and in March the malady had wholly ceased. As the hospital was not sufficiently spacious to

contain the whole number of sick, tents were erected in the court, which is very large, for the reception of those who were advanced in their cure; and, for a further relief to the hospital, an old galley was kept apart from the rest, whither the convalescents were transported in a still more advanced stage of their cure, and where they performed their quarantine. By this means the hospital was constantly in a state to receive all who were sent thither.

Less attention and precautions could not have sufficed to save any part of the crews from the ravages of the contagion, in galleys where they may almost be said to be heaped one upon the other; and it will always reflect immortal honour on the officers, that, out of ten thousand persons whom they had under their command on board the galleys and in the arsenal, not more than 1300 were ever attacked with the disease, and of these little more than the half fell victims to it. Among the latter, the public had to regret four of the surgeons, whose exemplary care and attention to the sick merited a happier fate. One of these was Mons. Langier, well known for his treatise, *Des Vulneraires*, and who joined the utmost theoretical knowledge to a very long and successful practice. One of the apothecaries and six almoners were also among the victims,

but not one general officer, and very few of the inferior officers. Not that these gentlemen ever shrunk from their duty;—they exposed themselves undauntedly wherever the service demanded their attendance, only using such precautions as might be of utility against imbibing the infection.

CHAP. VIII.

Counsel of the physicians rejected.—Fires lighted.—The consuls remain solely charged with the administration.—State of the city at the end of the first period.

REGULATIONS in the city, similar to those on board the galleys, might perhaps have prevented the disorders which unhappily took place. In cases of such emergency, too much expedition cannot be used to put every thing in a proper train, as the only means of averting the trouble and inconvenience arising from resolutions tardily, and consequently tumultuously, taken. A city which should wait till the enemy were at its gates before it began to make preparations for resistance, would run a very great hazard of being surprised, or of being obliged, at least, to make a dishonourable capitulation. Such was the unhappy fate of Marseilles, where, whether it were that those at the head of affairs could not yet be convinced that the malady which had broken out was really the plague, or whether the embarrassment occasioned by the great diversity of objects which require attention, at such a moment, in a city of such magnitude, permits not the possibility of attending to them all at once,—from whichever of

these causes it arose I pretend not to determine; but certain it is, that the precautions which ought to have been taken against this distemper were neglected till it had arrived at a height which rendered them ineffectual.

The physicians, who saw from afar the consequences that must inevitably arise from an apathy so unaccountable, and who judged, by the virulent nature of the malady which they observed among the first attacked, what it would be should it become general, ceased not to urge the magistrates to the measures customary in like cases. They recommended the forming a council of health, composed of persons the most distinguished for their rank, united with some of the principal citizens selected from the different orders. But the echevins replied, that they feared confusion among numbers, and would not make a fish-market of the Hotel de Ville. The physicians then offered, that one of their body, at least, should remain always present at the council; because, in the course of a contagion, many things might come into discussion where their advice would be necessary. They were answered, that the magistrates had no need of them. Such or similar answers were given to sundry other propositions which they made. The echevins, obstinate in their prejudices against them, seemed resolved to reject every thing they suggested.

Notwithstanding this, unwilling that the public should suffer by an obstinacy so unaccountable, and desirous to make a last effort to save their fellow-citizens, the physicians thought they could do nothing better than to place in the hands of the magistrates *Ranchin's Treatise on the Plague*, which contains all the regulations of police proper to be observed in a time of contagion. It was accordingly remitted to them. The sequel will show the use they made of this work.

The only physician in the city who could obtain a hearing from these gentlemen was Mons. Sicard. This gentleman having refused to visit the sick, and being yet desirous to render himself useful in the city, proposed a means to stop the progress of the contagion, answering for its success, provided all his directions were punctually observed. Such a proposition was too flattering not to be favourably received. The other physicians had been in the cruel situation of being the ravens to croak calamity to the city, and, like Cassandra, their predictions could obtain no credit. Mons. Sicard assumed the character of the prophet who preached good tidings, and he was heard. He proposed that for three evenings successively, beginning about five o'clock, great fires should be lighted in all the squares and market-places, and around the city; and, at the same time, that each individual should make one before

the door of his house, and burn sulphur in every room of the house, exposing all his clothes and effects of every kind in the smoke.

Although there was nothing very new in this idea, since it originates with Hippocrates, whose works are known to all the world, yet the confidence with which it was suggested, and the hope it offered of putting a stop to a calamity the consequences of which now began to appear seriously alarming—a hope at which, however faint, every one was eager to catch—these considerations occasioned its immediate adoption, and preparations were made without delay for carrying it into execution. An ordonnance of the police was published, fixing the day on which the conflagration should commence—the regulation of the fires was consigned to Mons. Sicard, assisted by Mons. Dieudé, one of the *echevins*, and who was always the most active in exertions for the public good. Great heaps of wood were piled together in all the squares and market-places, and before the houses ; sulphur was distributed to those who had not the means to purchase it ; and, at the appointed hour, the whole city was in a blaze, and the air was clouded with a thick and black smoke, more proper to concentrate the vapours of the contagion than to disperse them.

One knows not here whether most to admire the confidence of the physician, who, without distinguishing the periods or the nature of the con-

tagion, proposed prematurely a resource so feeble, and so little capable of producing the promised effect, or the credulity of the magistrates, who, spurning all solid counsel, could so blindly adopt an expedient unsupported by any proofs of its efficacy, and which led to such an enormous expense, without deigning to consult upon the subject those to whom they had consigned the care of the sick. Certain it is, that in the event the public had only to regret the quantity of wood thus idly wasted, and the want of which they were likely to feel severely; while the physician, disappointed in his expectations, and unable to sustain the consequent reproaches and taunts of his enraged fellow-citizens, disappeared privately with his son.

In effect, these fires appeared only to increase those of the contagion, in heating to an insupportable degree the air, already sufficiently suffocating from the sultriness of the season and climate. The pestilential poison seemed to gain increased subtilty and activity. The most obstinately incredulous, now subdued, abandoning themselves to all the terror so sad and so late a conviction inspired, thought only of seeking their safety by flight. The less incredulous and more prudent had already, availing themselves of the time when the roads were yet open, and the liberty of passage unimpaired, saved themselves by emigra-

tion into other towns or other provinces. These found the good effects of their timely precaution ; while the others, roused too late from their apathy, now found the passages barred, and the roads strictly guarded ; so that the only resource which remained was to retire to their bastides, or to shut themselves up in their own houses.

On every side were now seen persons buying provisions, and carrying away their clothes and other effects. Scarcely could the town furnish carriages sufficient to answer the demand for them ; they were out of all price. Even the common ranks of people, moved by an involuntary impulse, crowded without the gates of the city, and, trusting to the mildness of the climate, lodged themselves in tents, some on the plain of St. Michael, just without the ramparts, and others along the rivulets which water the territory of Marseilles. Some even fled to the mountains, and sought an asylum in caves or holes among the rocks—while the mariners embarked with their families on board such little vessels as they could find ; and, leaving them at large in the port, or in the adjacent road, formed a sort of floating town in the midst of the waters.

The bishop, however, as a faithful shepherd, remained in the city to take care of his flock ; as did likewise, animated by his example, most of the priests and curates. The convents of nuns

were thrown open, and the major part of these devotees joined their relations or families. So great a desertion left those who remained in the city in a state of still greater consternation; and the most populous and commercial place in the whole kingdom presented in a few days the affecting spectacle of the mournful silence and solitude of a desert. The consuls remained alone charged with the administration of the city—trusting in the zeal with which they felt themselves animated for the public welfare, they would not share the government with any one. Happy had it been for themselves and the people, if their success had answered their confidence.

It should seem, however, that circumstances so important, and so highly interesting both to the lives and fortunes of every individual, gave a just claim to some of the principal citizens to expect a share in the administration of the public affairs. It cannot, therefore, appear surprising, that, seeing themselves excluded from all participation in concerns where they had so much at stake, and finding their presence consequently useless, as well as their pride humiliated, they preferred seeking their individual safety, to becoming the sad spectators of the most heart-rending scenes human nature can witness, perhaps the victims of them. The officers of justice, the governors of the hospitals, the intendants of health, the counsellors of

the city, and the other municipal officers, accordingly joined the number of the fugitives, leaving the echevins alone, with their secretary and counsellor in ordinary, at the head of a numerous and half-distracted populace.

They did indeed now make several regulations very salutary, such as ordering all vagabonds and beggars out of the city, and hindering the clothes and effects of the dead or diseased to be carried from one house to another, with others equally good, had four persons been sufficient to superintend the execution of them. Four companies of militia were enrolled, guards were stationed at the Hotel de Ville, and other places where they appeared necessary, and commissaries were appointed for the superintendence of the different quarters of the city. They were charged with furnishing a certain allowance of bread every day to the poor, who, by the total cessation of all kinds of labour, were now reduced to the utmost extremity;—to them it was likewise confided to visit the sick, who were now left in their own houses, and administer to their wants—in short, it was their office to inspect every thing that concerned the consolation of the afflicted, and the preservation of good order.

But, spite of all these regulations, the malady every day increased. No longer could any distinction be made, that such or such a street was

infected, not one was exempt from the poison of the contagion. The night no longer sufficed to bury the dead, the sorrowful spectacle of their inhumation was alike obliged to be exhibited in open day. The carts and horses of the citizens were required to carry them, and the vagrants and beggars were employed to dig immense graves without the city, and charge themselves with the interments. The sick and healthy trembled alike at beholding these vehicles of death pass before their windows, and shuddered at the thought that such might, in a few hours, be their own situation. The whole city, in short, presented that climax of horrors attendant on an avowed and palpable pestilential disease.

No longer were the shops opened; all public works were suspended; commerce ceased; the churches, the exchange, and all public places were shut up; divine service was suspended, and the course of justice stopped; neighbours, and even relations, ceased to visit each other; nor must any one think of having articles of mere convenience, it is much if necessaries can be procured. Such was the spectacle presented by Marseilles; such the wretched situation of its inhabitants at the commencement of the second period of the plague, which may be dated from about the 10th of August.

CHAP. IX.

Second period of the plague.—Establishment of a new hospital.

THIS is not the first instance on record of the inhabitants of a city in which the plague had broken out, doubting the reality of the fact till they beheld it in the excess of its ravages; but never, perhaps, was incredulity carried so far as in the present instance. It had been seen to begin in the infirmary, pass from thence even before the public eye, if I may be allowed the expression, into the town, and spread itself in a short time into every quarter; attestations had been given, by a variety of physicians and surgeons, of the real nature of the malady: yet still, ingenious to deceive themselves, the Marseillois preferred exposing their city to all the disorders attendant on such a public calamity, to taking those timely precautions for its prevention which ought not, undoubtedly, to have been neglected on the first sound of alarm, even though the event had proved them useless.

It was during the second period of the calamity that these disorders rose to their greatest height. This proceeded from two causes; the want of

foresight, with regard to the burial of the dead, and the want of management in the care of the sick.

About the 8th of August, the physicians employed in attendance on the latter, observing that they were no longer carried to the infirmary, but left in their own houses, remonstrated against it, representing strongly that the infection must by this means inevitably spread with greater rapidity, and that all medical attendance must be vain, unless some measures were taken to remedy so great an evil. They observed, moreover, that the poverty and misery in which the patients lived at home, precluded all chance of cure while they remained under their own roofs, and that, for both these reasons, it was highly necessary some place should be allotted as a temporary hospital.

The governor saw immediately, or, at least, appeared to see, the justice of this reasoning, and the necessity of the establishment proposed, but was at a loss to fix on a place proper for this purpose, and which could be prepared without delay for the reception of the sick. The physicians suggested the Hotel de la Charité, which they demonstrated to be the most proper place that could be found, both from its situation, from the interior disposition of the house, from its capaciousness, and from its convenience for procuring every thing necessary for the sick. It was, be-

sides, in the neighbourhood of five religious houses, with which, as they almost touched it, communications might easily be opened, if, in the sequel, it should be found necessary to make a still more ample provision for the reception of patients. They pointed out, at the same time, a means of lodging the poor belonging to this house, amounting to near six hundred, the officers included.

The governor having consented to this plan, the superiors of the house were summoned, and ordered to evacuate it immediately, and convey the poor to the place assigned them. To this, in presence of the governor, they opposed many objections, which he debated and obviated with a mildness, but also with a solidity of argument, which they could not resist. But, from whatever cause I know not, this plan, which seemed so well arranged, rested dormant during a whole week, and not a step was taken for its execution. The sick, meanwhile, daily accumulated in all parts of the town, and gave occasion to the commencement of that confusion and disorder, the bare recollection of which fills the mind with horror.

Nothing would have contributed so much to prevent the progress of the contagion, and the disorders it occasioned, as the establishment of this hospital. It might have received from six to eight hundred every day ; and, in a case of extreme ne-

cessity, accommodation might have been made for more, by joining to it the other convents in the neighbourhood. And surely it was a much less evil to displace for a time these monks and nuns, than to leave the sick in the public streets. Amid the number of convents, of both sexes, with which Marseilles abounds, there would have been no difficulty in finding space to lodge the reverend fathers and pious sisters, and each might have been distributed where they found the most affinity in their customs and regulations. One of these religious houses might have been allotted to the rich, who should have maintained it at their own expense ; another for priests, confessors, and officers attacked by the malady ; and the others regulated for the different stages of sickness and convalescence. Three thousand might thus have been provided for very conveniently ; and it was not to be expected that there ever would be more than that at a time, since, where the malady proves mortal, it commonly terminates on the third or fourth day. All these houses are extremely convenient, situated at an extremity of the town, and almost separated from it by a hill. How many lives might have been saved, had this measure been adopted !

At length, the hospital of the convalescents of the Hotel Dieu was allotted as an hospital for the reception of those infected with the plague. It is,

indeed, in a good situation, but is the smallest of all the houses that could have been selected for this purpose, since it cannot receive more than three hundred at a time. In less than two days, therefore, it was filled ; so that, as the sick flocked thither in crowds, they were obliged to put a number of them into a sort of stable close by, and which was commonly used for the reception of the oxen and sheep destined to be killed for the service of the house.

This hospital was opened about the middle of August under the direction of a surgeon ; all the physicians of the city, one excepted, who was ill, being at that time fully employed. All proper officers were at the same time appointed. Some days after, Messrs. Guyon, father and son, physicians at Barjolx, a little town in this province, who had long been desirous of establishing themselves at Marseilles, thought that a favourable opportunity was here presented for executing their plan, and offered their services to the echevins, who readily accepted them, and placed them in the new hospital. They entered upon office there without condescending to confer with any of the physicians of the city,—without even seeking to inform themselves of the nature of the malady, and the proper course to be observed with the patients. Thus, filled with new ideas, directly the reverse of what the case required, and treating

the diseased accordingly, the mortality increased every day in the hospital. They employed repeated bleedings and violent purgatives, the fatal consequences of which had been already experienced. They had scarcely time, however, to be convinced of their error; for the father was taken ill in a very few days, and died; which so alarmed the son, that he immediately resolved to quit his new situation and return to his own country. He was accordingly placed in quarantine without the city, where, in a few days, he died also. As no one could be prevailed on to touch his body to inter it, the house was set on fire, and with his corpse perished all his wealth, which, in the idea of establishing himself at Marseilles, he had converted into circulating paper.

The surgeon and the other officers of the hospital soon followed the fate of these two physicians, and with them perished the little order and regularity that had ever been established there. For, since no one remained to attend to the subjects received, those who died were replaced indiscriminately by the first objects that presented themselves, without any choice or examination. Thus this hospital soon became a scene of horror and confusion, where those who ought to have taken care of the sick, only watched the moment of their death to divide their spoils. It was even made a receptacle for the thefis committed in the

houses which were left deserted, by the inhabitants being conveyed to the hospitals. In the sequel these disorders being known, their perpetrators were seized, and condemned to the galleys. But we will at present pass over the state of this hospital, and reserve the description to unite it with that of the city, that we may not repeat twice a picture so horrible.

It was soon found that this hospital was very inadequate to the reception of the immense numbers that every day fell sick, and a project was formed for the establishment of another, which, however, from the length of time occupied in its preparation, became useless for the correction of the present disorders. The *Jeu de Mail* was the place fixed on for this purpose : both from its extent, and situation near the convent of the reformed Augustins, and almost without the city, this was a very proper choice ; but since it could not be occupied immediately, some temporary provision ought to have been made for the reception of the sick, who increased so immoderately, that it was now impossible to keep any account of the numbers daily attacked. From the 20th of August, no place of retreat had remained for these poor wretches, and an hospital was appointed, which the sequel will show was not ready till the beginning of October. It was not, however, in the end, without its use, as will hereafter be shown.

The only immediate provision made for the relief of the sufferers, was to erect tents along the ramparts without the city, whither they were conveyed by a breach in the wall made for that purpose.

The second thing which gave rise to the unhappy disorders that took place in the city, was the still strange infatuation, of doubting whether the malady were really the plague. Thence arose the want of precaution in burying the dead. At first they were carried to the infirmary; but though the inclosure be very large, it was impossible to inter any considerable number there, since it stands almost entirely on a rock. They had been even obliged to throw the bodies into an old cistern, and fill it up with rubbish. Since then the dead could no longer be carried thither, it was resolved to make a large grave near the cathedral for their reception. But this was scarcely begun ere the idea was abandoned, upon the remonstrances of the nuns of the Holy Sacrament, whose house was close by the spot chosen. Another place was then fixed upon without the city, between the gates of Aix and La Joliete, where two graves were made, each of ten toises square, and fourteen feet deep. It was not without much difficulty that the peasants could be compelled to work at this laborious and painful occupation; and Mons. Moustier, one of the echevins, was obliged always to attend and assist there in person.

But the mortality now amounting to between three and four hundred persons per day, these graves were very soon filled. Of the workmen employed in digging them, many had died, and others had fled, while no measures had been taken to provide them successors in this employment, so that it soon became a matter of the greatest embarrassment what to do with the bodies ; and the object of all others the most important to be conducted with celerity in a time of contagion, the removal of the dead, was that which now went on the most heavily. This, united with the negligence in providing proper places for the reception of the sick, gave occasion to that train of disorder, it may almost be said of insurrection, in the city, which increased tenfold the horrors occasioned by the ravages of the pestilence.

CHAP. X.

The contagion breaks out in the Hotel Dieu.—Physicians from Montpellier sent by the court, on the alleged desertion of the city by its physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries.

ALTHOUGH it be well known, that, in the time when the plague rages in any place, all other maladies cease, seeming to fly before this, the most cruel and dangerous of all, the Hotel Dieu was nevertheless shut up from the commencement of the plague, as a place of reserve for such as might fall sick with any other malady. Spite of this precaution, the disease soon found its way thither. This house contained then between three and four hundred foundling children of both sexes, besides all the proper officers and attendants.

The contagion was carried thither by a woman who escaped from the Rue de l'Escale, and presented herself at the Hotel Dieu, praying to be received there, having, as she said, a common fever. She was examined; and whether it were that the plague really had not yet begun to manifest itself, or that, prepossessed with the assertion she had made that she had only a common fever, the examination was slight and negligent, she was

received into the house, a bed was allotted her, whither she was conducted by two maid servants of the house, and the usual change of linen was given her. On the morrow these two maid servants fell sick, and died in a few hours. The next day the matron of the hospital, who had visited this woman, as it is her office to visit all the patients, fell sick, and died almost as suddenly. It will easily be imagined, in a house so full of inhabitants, and among such a number of children particularly, how rapidly the contagion spread. Such was its rapidity, that a very short time sufficed to carry off all the children, together with every person belonging to the house, governors, confessors, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, officers, servants, except about thirty—who indeed took the infection, but were cured at length of the disease.

We must not here omit a just tribute to the memory of Mons. Bruno Granier, one of the governors of the Hotel Dieu, who, in the absence of all the rest, alone sustained the painful task of the direction of this hospital at so critical a moment. It may well be conceived, that the management of between five and six hundred persons at such a time was no trifling charge. He inspected every thing himself, with a zeal and courage worthy of imitation by all who may be placed in similar circumstances. Heaven, who often as a reward

of such exemplary conduct, seizes the most favourable moment to take the object to himself, recompensed this gentleman by a death as glorious in the sight of man, as precious in his own eyes, by taking him off in the midst of his charitable work.

Nor let it be denied us to join with his name that of Mons. Peyssonnel, the father, more venerable for his virtues than for his years. He was unwearied in his attendance on the sick, soothed their sufferings, and even dressed their wounds with a piety worthy the rest of his life. He was dean of the College of Physicians, and well known among the literati of his time by his system of *Physique Mechanique*, which he was about to give to the public, had it not pleased God rather to recompense his charity and benevolence by an immortal crown than by the fame he would have acquired from the publication of his work.

But nothing could subdue the infatuated incredulity of some persons; and, spite of the impetuosity with which they saw the contagion daily spread in the city, they still would persist in not believing it the plague. The echevins had given so unfavourable an impression to the Court, of the physicians of Marseilles, that no confidence was placed in their reports; and Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, physicians of Montpellier, were deputed to visit Marseilles, and examine into the

nature of the disease that raged there. They arrived, accordingly, on the 12th of August, with Mons. Soulliers, one of the principal surgeons of the same university, and were received by Messrs. the echevins with all the honours due to their personal merit and to the importance of their mission. Their arrival seemed to re-animate the public mind; and every one hoped from them such a decision as should favour their own incredulity.

Spite of the prepossessions with which they had been inspired against the physicians of the city, they desired, before they proceeded to examine the sick, to confer with them upon the nature of the disease. A meeting was accordingly appointed in the Hotel de Ville, when each gave a separate relation of all he had observed; after which it was agreed, that, for a still further elucidation of this matter, they should give in written reports, which they did the next day. Two were then appointed to accompany the gentlemen from Montpellier in their rounds, to which they immediately proceeded. They visited the sick in the hospital of the convalescents, as well as those in the infirmary and in many private houses, and opened three or four dead bodies. An hour was then appointed to give in their report to the governor and the echevins, which was to be done at the Hotel de Ville. The physicians of the

city, who had accompanied these gentlemen, demanded to be admitted to this meeting, and hear the report, but this was refused.

What this report was, was never precisely known. All we know for certain is, that, after the meeting, the magistrates loudly asserted the disease which had caused so much alarm to be only a malignant fever, proceeding from unwholesome food ; and that, the day after the departure of the physicians of Montpellier, the following bill was posted in the city :—

ADVICE TO THE PUBLIC.

“ On the report made to the governor and echevins of the city by the physicians from Montpellier, they have thought it their duty to advertise the public, that the malady which now reigns here is not pestilential, but only a common malignant fever, the progress of which, it is hoped, will speedily be stopped, by separating those who are suspected of being diseased from those in perfect health, and by certain other regulations which will immediately be established.”

This notice re-animated the spirits of the people, who began again to communicate with each other more freely. This they had even done on the arrival of the physicians, and before the publication of the notice ; and, at length, the bishop, with the magistrates, were obliged to yield to

their importunities, and permit the usual procession, which was made every year in honour of St. Roch, to take place. To this they the rather consented, as it seemed by no means proper to check the devotion of the people towards a saint of whose protection they stood at the moment so much in need.

The author of the Marseilles Journal says, “ The physicians of Montpellier thought it right to dissemble with the people, in order to calm their minds, and not increase the disorders in the city ; and it was for this reason that they *advised* the notice inserted above to be published.”—The physicians, on the other hand, would not allow that they were the *advisers* of this measure, but said they only consented to it from complaisance. Be this as it may, it were to be wished that the effect had answered the intention ; but assuredly, in seeking to impress on the minds of the people the idea that the malady was only a common fever, proceeding from bad food, the precautions which the real fact required ought not to have been neglected. The report made by the same physicians to the court* does not altogether coincide

* This report was never published ; but a copy of it was placed in my hands by a friend, on whose fidelity I can rely, and who assured me he received it from Mons. Chycoineau himself. I have given it among the papers at the end of the work.—*Note by the author.* It will be found in the Appendix, No. 2.

with the opinion announced in the above hand-bill; but, though somewhat more explicit with regard to the nature of the malady, the gentlemen still dare not hazard pronouncing the fatal word; they call it *a sort of plague*—let us wait their return to Marseilles to attend upon the sick, and we shall see them positively and unreservedly avowing it to be the plague. At Paris, however, as at Marseilles, the public, prone to delude themselves, and resting their faith on what was reported to them, were tranquil on the subject of the malady.

It was not long after that Mons. Lebret, intendant of the province, whose zeal in procuring us all possible assistance throughout the whole course of our calamity can never be too warmly acknowledged, transmitted to our physicians three memoirs, said to be written by Mons. Chirac, first physician to his royal highness the regent*. The College, full of veneration for this celebrated professor, received these papers with the same deference and respect with which they had formerly listened to their author himself†. They easily recognised in them the principles in which they had been educated in his school: but experience

* The duke of Orleans, then regent during the minority of Louis XV.

† Mons. Chirac had been president of the College of Physicians at Marseilles.

had already shown that these principles were not applicable in the present case. In one of the memoirs, Mons. Chirac proposes to the magistrates, the confessors, the physicians and the surgeons, certain regulations to be observed with regard to the sick. He recommends, in the first place, that they should be suffered to remain in their own houses, and that kitchens should be established in every quarter of the city to furnish them with broth. This advice might be salutary; but in order to be followed it must be practicable: and how provide for the necessities of four or five thousand sick poor, in houses where they were in want of every thing? It is much more difficult to give them the necessary attendance in their own habitations than in the hospitals. He proposed next, that the physicians should unite themselves with the magistrates, to act in concert; and that the latter should furnish the people with the means of amusement and relaxation, since keeping the mind cheerful contributes greatly to preserve the body in health. This is a counsel which the magistrates never showed any disposition to follow. Another suggestion was, that the physicians should appear in the streets and public walks with a gay and contented countenance;—this they endeavoured to do in the commencement of the calamity, and were insulted for it. Lastly, that violins, drums, fifes, &c., should be

kept in pay to go about the streets, and endeavour, by playing lively airs, to exhilarate the minds of the people, and drive away from them gloom and melancholy. But, according to the ideas of Horace, it is difficult for those who are surrounded by the horrors of death to receive any impression of gaiety :

Districtus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem ;
Non avium Citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent

Of the remaining two memoirs, one descants on the contagion, and the other discusses the question—Whether the greatest inconvenience is likely to arise in concealing the nature of the malady, or in declaring it to be the plague? After urging various arguments on both sides, it is decided against concealing it. The discussion of this question, however, appears very futile. The plague always takes sufficient care to declare itself; and if, in endeavouring to conceal the nature of the disease, the proper measures against it are neglected, to what fatal consequences does this lead! while, on the other hand, if these necessary precautions are taken, they must betray the secret it is intended to conceal.

We shall not attempt to follow these memoirs through all their details. We shall only observe,

that the author seems every where to consider the disease at Marseilles as only a common malignant fever without infection, and refers every thing to this principle;—a principle which, once established, we should have no difficulty in giving our unfeigned assent to his reasoning. But this was very far from being the real state of the case. It required only to have attended two or three patients to be assured that we had to deal with a very different distemper from that he supposes. Nothing can be more dissimilar than the common malignant fever and the plague; and, consequently, they require very opposite methods of treatment. But lest I should be supposed to have misapprehended the sentiments of this celebrated physician, I subjoin, at full length, that article of his memoir in which he explains the most clearly his ideas upon the subject of this malady and its origin.

“ All things well considered, and after having examined with the greatest attention the different reports sent from Marseilles relative to the character of the malady which now reigns there, the number of persons who have died of it, and the circumstances of their deaths, which are horrible, from the indolence and negligence of those who ought to watch over, and provide for, the wants of persons in such afflicting circumstances—after weighing all these things, I have judged that the

malady, though great in itself, and extremely dangerous, is only a common malignant fever, such as I saw myself reign there in the years 1709 and 1710, and by no means the plague brought from the Levant in a vessel arrived some time since in the port of Marseilles. The unwholesome food of the lower class of people in that town is quite sufficient to produce such an effect : and a proof that this is really the case is, that none but the poor have been attacked, though a considerable time has elapsed since the disease first broke out. And since the porters employed upon the bales of merchandise supposed to be infected, were among the class of people so ill fed, it is not surprising that, heated as they must be by the nature of their employment, and being afterwards exposed in that state to the chillness of the air, they should be among the first attacked—nor is it surprising that the death of these poor victims should follow so close on their first seizure, when we consider how little means persons of this class have to procure the food and medicines their situation requires.

“ To be convinced that what I have said on the subject of these porters is just, and that their death was not occasioned by the goods on which they were employed, or that their bodies spread the infection in the city, no more is requisite than to reflect on the distance between the lazaretto,

where they died and were interred, and the street in which the disease first broke out ; and it must appear obvious, that the contagious emanations from these bodies never could spread to such a distance without communicating the infection in their passage to the houses that lie between.”

In reading this article it is impossible to resist a reflection which very naturally presents itself ;— That great men are apt sometimes to pique themselves a little too unseasonably upon their superior illumination, especially when they think that they see things more clearly at a distance than others who examine them upon the spot. Let me be permitted to cite one more passage in this memoir, extremely injurious to the honour of the physicians and surgeons at Marseilles, and to make some reflections upon it.

“ How can it be expected,” says he, “ that in a malady so acute, and which demands such immediate and assiduous care and attention ; since in a few days, or hours, perhaps, it reduces the patient to the last extremity—how can it be expected, I say, that persons should recover, who are left wholly abandoned to their fate, unsupported by the most common attention, destitute of all proper food, without medicines, victims of the barbarous inhumanity of ignorant or interested physicians and surgeons, who, in hopes of gain to themselves, cherish in the public mind idle terrors and appre-

hensions, to render themselves of great public importance, and draw their advantages from it.”

I know not where the author of this memoir has found physicians and surgeons of this character. If elevation of rank and superiority of knowledge give a right to instruct others, they cannot give any title to calumniate them, to ascribe to them sentiments injurious to their honour and unworthy of their character, and in opposition to every principle of humanity. These aspersions ought less to be cast upon the physicians of Marseilles in the instance in question, than in almost any case whatever. We leave it to the event to justify them from the imputation of ignorance, here so freely lavished upon them; but we must be permitted a word or two on that of negligence. They cannot be denied the credit of having broken the ice, and been the first to rise above that vain terror to which the physicians in former times have yielded, in common with the rest of mankind, at the bare idea of a contagious disease. Far from following the opinion of those who hold that all attendance in case of the plague should be left to the surgeons, to whom the physicians should be reserved as counsellors alone, they never shrunk from personal attendance on the sick, but exposed their lives in endeavouring to give them succour with the most undaunted courage and generosity. They were the first to face the danger of the con-

tagion, going from street to street, from house to house, examining into every thing, approaching the patients, feeling their pulse, examining their tumours, even dressing them with their own hands if it appeared necessary ; attending them, in short, with the same assiduity as could have been shown to a wealthy person, who was labouring under a common malady, and from whom they had expectations of a great reward. They never refused any service required of them, either in the hospitals, the city, or the country ; and all without any charge, except when they were obliged to go into the country, when some expense was unavoidable ; but they never made any charge for their own trouble. All the recompence they received was contempt, and often insults, on the part of the people.

It was not, then, sordid views of interest that made them boldly declare the nature of the malady. It had gained considerable ground when they were called upon for their opinions ; and any efforts they had made to disguise the truth must have turned to their own confusion. It was even essentially necessary to speak out plainly, that those charged with the administration of public affairs might be compelled to take proper and immediate measures for succouring the afflicted, and stopping the progress of the disease. Had they consulted only their own interest, they would rather have

concealed the nature of the malady, in order to retain in the city those who were in a situation to reward them handsomely for their attendance. They might be well assured, that in dealing frankly and honestly with the public, the wealthy would soon desert the town, and none but the poor remain to stand in need of their cares. What I have here said of the physicians is equally applicable to the surgeons ; they uniformly evinced a like zeal and disinterestedness.

Let us close these reflections with vindicating them, lastly, from another charge brought against them—that of desertion of the city. The College is composed of twelve physicians : of these, two were shut up in the arsenal for the service of that place and the galleys ; two remained at the hospital of the crews ; one at the infirmary ; one at the Hotel Dieu ; and one at the Abbey of St. Victor, in virtue of the engagement always made with the physician of that house at the time of his appointment, that, in case of any contagious disease breaking out in the city, he shall remain shut up within the walls of the abbey. Four other physicians were constantly employed in visiting the sick in the city, which they had portioned among them in four equal divisions. One alone really quitted the city on this occasion, and that from the general ill state of his health.

The desertion of the surgeons was not more

general than that of the physicians. This body is divided into three classes in Marseilles,—the sworn master surgeons of the city, of whom two only fled; those who are in their course of study in the hospitals, of whom two also disappeared; and the young apprentices, a like number of whom deserted. All the rest in each of these classes were unwearied in their attention and assiduity. Nor let the apothecaries be passed over, of whom one only abandoned his post, the rest kept their shops constantly open during the whole time of the contagion, or at least till they had themselves fallen victims to it; and many of them voluntarily served in the hospitals. With what face, then, can any one dare to advance that there was a general defection among the medical gentlemen of Marseilles on this melancholy occasion? And if, in the end, we were obliged to demand further assistance from other parts of the kingdom, it was not because those whose duty it was particularly to remain in the city had deserted their posts, but on account of the excess of the ravages made by the disease.

CHAP. XI.

Dreadful state of the interior of the houses.

WHEN we contemplate the contagion in the light only in which it appeared in its early stages, the public incredulity will not, perhaps, appear very surprising;—yet, surely, when it had made some progress, when daily proofs of its cruel and inveterate nature were before the eyes of every one—that any doubt of its existence should remain on men's minds seems wholly unpardonable. At first a solitary individual only being attacked, it was easy to ascribe his malady to personal irregularity. To the same cause might as easily be attributed the death of the second, a few days after. These were followed, slowly and at intervals, by some others; so that at first the progress of the calamity was almost imperceptible:—it seemed indeed at one period wholly to stop; but this pause was only to regain added force. It soon broke out with irresistible fury, spreading over the whole city, and sweeping down all before it. Rich and poor, male and female, young and old, alike became its victims, and the whole town was filled with mourning and tears.

The similes employed, of a rapid torrent, whose waters, long restrained, at length burst asunder the dykes that opposed their incursions, and spreading with resistless fury over the adjacent

country, bear down all before them—or of a spark of fire, which having smothered for some time, breaks out at once with the most furious explosion, and in a few minutes sets a whole town in flames—such similes give but a feeble idea of the fury with which the fire of this contagion now spread itself all around, menacing the entire ruin of the city. About the twenty-fifth of August it seemed to arrive at its utmost height of virulence. It was not then individuals that it attacked; it seized whole families, whole streets, at the same moment; scarcely a house remained free from infection: every quarter of the town was alike dangerous, alike to be shunned.

Servants fall, their masters dare not seek others to replace them. The poor, and those who work for hire, no longer can find employers who dare suffer them to approach their houses. Shut up within themselves, the extremity of hunger alone can compel some one of a family, more courageous than the rest, to quit his asylum, and endeavour to procure a supply of the first necessities of life for the rest. The greater part of those whose province it is to administer to the wants of their fellow-creatures, the butchers and bakers, have become a prey to the pestilence, and the shops of the few that remain are constantly surrounded by a clamorous crowd, which must be pierced through to obtain the necessities desired; and in seeking to avoid death by famine, the utmost

danger is incurred of meeting it by disease. Fish, which might have supplied the want of meat, is not to be had : the fishermen are all dead, or have fled to a more salutary clime. The poor cannot procure the means to purchase ; and the rich, who have them, can find nothing to buy. The misery and dearth is almost as general as the contagion.

Let us for a few moments enter some of the houses, and view the picture of the interior. In a remote garret, destitute of furniture, except the wretched bed on which he lies, behold that victim ! No friend is near him :—a pitcher of water by his bedside to allay his burning thirst, is his sole consolation. He is the first attacked in the house, and no one dares approach him. The door of his room is opened, and a little broth placed before it, while he who has brought it flies at the same moment, and, spite of feebleness and languor, the sufferer is obliged to crawl from his bed to take it. The sighs, the groans that his malady forces from him are heard by no one : alone he waits the moment of his release, with eyes that begin to sparkle with delirium, with wandering and distracted looks. The physician tries in vain to inspire him with courage, to render him the assistance his deplorable state requires :—he expires at length, deserted and abandoned, leaving perhaps an ample fortune to the ungrateful relations by whom he was deserted

—a fortune which could afford him no consolation in the moment of suffering.

In a neighbouring house behold a whole family struck at once ; who, bending under the pressure of the disease, form the most dreadful concert of their mingled sighs and groans. One, burning with the thirst of fever, demands something refreshing to allay his sufferings ; but all are alike unable to supply his wants. Another, in the rage of delirium, by his cries disturbs the repose of the rest ;—here a son by the side of his father, tormented by excess of nausea, irritates, by useless efforts to vomit, the pains suffered by both ;—there a mother, half dead herself, laments over a daughter whom the malady renders insensible to her lamentations ;—and there a husband and wife, who existed but for each other, locked in each others arms, unite their burning lips, and expire in the same union in which they had lived.

What a state of suffering for those who attend on the sick in scenes like these ! One cries for something to alleviate his sufferings, which, alas ! are past all power of alleviation ; while another demands a priest to confess him, and perform the pious offices of religion, when perhaps he must expire before one can arrive. It is difficult to say whether those families are most to be pitied, where all fall together, or where they fall at intervals, one after the other. The former

feel at once the excess of their calamity ; the latter arrive at it by degrees, and by an affliction which is perhaps so much the more cruel as it is tedious and lingering. In the former case each is chiefly occupied by his own sufferings ; in the latter the sufferings are greater from being repeated in the person of each separate victim we deplore, and from being aggravated by the feeling of our impotence to afford them any succour. What a state of horror to the last survivor, to have beheld one after another—father, mother, brothers, sisters, all expire before his eyes, while every moment he may expect himself to be summoned to follow them ! How many, overpowered by the horrors of seeing three or four in a house fall, have sunk through despair and affliction, when perhaps the force of the disease might otherwise have been subdued ! Some instances might even be cited where, hopeless of escaping the malady of which they had beheld so many expire before their eyes, by a voluntary death they have anticipated the sufferings and fate which seemed inevitable.—Sad and cruel resolution, which could seek to terminate finite sorrows by plunging rashly into sorrows eternal !

In families thus desolated, sometimes it is a mother who is left alone with her infant child, both perhaps sick. Could this unhappy mother, like Hagar, when driven from the house of Abra-

ham her master, leave her son at the foot of a tree, and retire to a distance to avoid the horror of seeing him expire before her eyes, she were resigned : but retained by the feebleness to which her own malady has reduced her, she has no alternative but the cruel idea either of beholding her infant expire in her arms without being able to afford him any succour, or, by her own death, of leaving him to perish wholly neglected and abandoned. Sometimes it is a young girl who has survived all the rest of the family, whom she watched and succoured to the last. Before this fatal tragedy she had many brothers, and her expected portion of the heritage of her father was small ;—behold her now sole heiress of an ample fortune ! but what can that avail her !—insulated in the world, without a relation, without a friend, surrounded by nothing but frightful images of death and desolation—alas ! she esteems the fate of her brothers worthy of envy, her own of compassion. Sometimes a servant alone has been the survivor, who has paid the last duties to all his masters, to all his fellow-servants, and who remains alone in a great house, which rests entirely at his disposal. He is perplexed what course to follow—no heir appears ; the proper heir is absent, and dares not approach his inheritance. Happy is it if a servant thus circumstanced be faithful, and proof against the temptations of his

situation! Some have been known so little impressed with the feelings such scenes of disaster should call forth, as even to hasten the stroke of an expiring master, impatient for the moment when he could execute the projects of plunder his hardened soul had engendered, without reflecting on the uncertainty how soon he might be deprived, by a like fate, of any enjoyment of the fruits of his villany. Sometimes, in fine, every member of a family cut off, the house has been left a prey to the pillage and plunder of the populace.

Cast we now an eye on the situation of any one struck with the contagion in a house by himself, without a servant, without a companion, without a neighbour. He has every sort of convenience about him; he has money, which in other cases would supply his wants; but all this is now useless. What shall become of him? Shall he seek refuge in the hospital?—but he shrinks from the idea of the horrors he shall find there. Yet some have taken this resolution, feeling less repugnance at the thoughts of dying amid thousands in a similar state of affliction than in solitary misery.

Will it be believed, that many of those who sacrificed themselves for the public service, by administering the offices of religion to the sick and dying, have often been themselves left to ex-

pire in the most cruel state of desertion. A curate, who had been one of the most active in performing these duties, was seized towards the end of August. He was alone in his house; without a servant, without a neighbour, and hopeless of finding any one to render him services less important than those he had rendered others. He knocked at the doors of several of his parishioners, craving an asylum and their charitable assistance; but every where refused, he was obliged to return to his own house, where, abandoned by men, alone he resigned his soul into the arms of his God. Can even the cruel circumstances to which all men were reduced excuse such ingratitude!

A canon of the cathedral church, rich and at his ease, being alike left alone in his house, sought an asylum in the church, where at least he hoped to find some one to succour him.—Alas, no! he expires, equally abandoned. A physician is obliged to seek refuge among the Recolets, that he may not remain wholly deserted and unsuccoured: and one of his brethren is obliged to ask equal assistance from another religious community, who furnish him sometimes with broth, sometimes with meat—unable to find any one to serve him in his own house, though he wanted not relations or money to reward the services rendered. Such was the forlorn state to which even the richest

found themselves reduced ; nay even those whose ministry seemed to exempt them from the apprehension of like mournful extremities.

Another object of the most affecting kind was the state of women with child. Almost all who were in this situation perished ; some at their delivery at the natural time, others by a premature delivery. It is well known of what importance the assistance of others is to a woman at this critical moment ; but when every one lived in a state of distrust of his neighbour, it may well be supposed this assistance was not to be obtained. Who but shudders, then, at the situation of these sufferers, about to bring an infant into the world, unable, from excess of feebleness, to give it the succour its helpless state demanded, and hopeless of relief from others ! What a present, too, was life to make to an infant at such a time,---only to lose it in the same moment, without the hope of receiving those pious offices which could secure it another and better life ! And what was the state of a mother, expiring doubtful of her own personal salvation, and assured of the destruction of her offspring ! One woman who was in this deplorable situation, feeling sufficient power to make some efforts for the salvation of her new-born babe, by her cries made herself heard by some persons passing in the street, who assembled round her house, but

had not sufficient courage or charity to enter. A young man, at length, more hardy than the rest, opened the door; and the mother making known her situation, he took the child and procured it the sacrament of baptism. But his own speedy death was the consequence of this act of charity. Perhaps in this, however, we ought to adore the benevolence of the Creator, who, by taking him to himself, would not suffer an action so meritorious to be sullied by any other which might have occurred in the course of a long life.

An action still more extraordinary, performed by another young man, must not be omitted. He was the son of a surgeon, and had seen some practice in this profession in the house of his father, but was afterwards a scholar in the college of the Oratoire, and had now a place in the abbey of St. Victor. Having learned that a woman in the neighbourhood, very far advanced in her pregnancy, was ill, and expiring, and that no surgeon would undertake to deliver her, so that the child might receive baptism, animated with a zeal which was sincere, though perhaps ill-directed, he went to the house indicated, where he found the woman absolutely dead. He performed the Cæsarcan operation, which, though in most cases it has been found unsuccessful, in this case had the most perfect success. The child

was taken alive from the body of the mother, and baptized, but, infected with the malady, it died in a few days ; while Heaven, who seemed desirous to reward the pious action of the young man, soon called him to enjoy the same happiness he had procured for the child.

Were I to carry further this dreadful detail of the calamities to be seen within the houses, I might perhaps scarcely obtain credit among my readers.—Perhaps even what I have already said may be regarded as the exaggerations of a person in affliction, who wishes to touch the hearts of others with his misfortunes. But however tragic the picture I have drawn, I dare assure my readers that all description can give but a faint idea of the reality ; nor could any situation be more painful than to be obliged to live in the constant contemplation of scenes so horrible, and so continued ! Scenes which, deplorable in themselves, were rendered ten times more affecting by the cries, the tears, and the groans with which every house resounded day and night, without intermission. Let us now quit the houses to take a view of the streets, which present scenes and objects, if possible, ten times more horrible and heart-rending.

CHAP. XII.

State of the city.

WILLINGLY would I omit giving a sketch of the deplorable picture I have here undertaken to present, but that without it my history were wholly incomplete. How, in giving it, shall I reconcile the delicacy of those who revolt from the idea of spectacles so horrible, and the honour of those on whom seems to fall the disgrace of so many troubles and disorders, with the truth of facts which the fidelity required of an historian will not permit to be concealed or glossed over? From respect for the first, I shall give only a simple recital of what all the world has seen, without any pompous and particular descriptions, throwing a veil over any thing that might wound delicacy. As to the second, perhaps the excuse is to be sought in the violence of the malady, which was so rapid in its progress as almost to foil the most active vigilance in taking measures to stop it. And for the third, truth will always be sacred in my eyes, nor shall any consideration whatever induce me on any occasion to violate it.

Hitherto the city had appeared deserted—It seemed as if all the inhabitants had quitted it, and

not a soul remained there. This solitude was yet more supportable than the spectacle of such a number of sick and dead as now in a few days filled all the streets and public places. Many causes combined to produce an effect so horrible.

The hospitals, as we have already remarked, were wholly inadequate to the reception of such numbers—the poor, thus left without a retreat, and destitute of every thing at home, descended into the streets, either to excite the charity of their neighbours, or in the faint hope of finding a refuge in the hospital. Many persons not in a state of want, but who lived alone, without a family, without a servant, seeing themselves likely to perish, deprived of all succour, came alike into the streets, in hopes to find there what they must expect in vain at home. The same was the case with those who remained the last of a family.—Left alone, after having given succour to the rest, their only hope was in exposing themselves in such a state of suffering to the vicissitudes of the weather in the open air.

Another description of unhappy victims, and whose fate was the most deplorable of all, was—will it be believed?—ought I to relate it?—The children of parents in whom fear of the evil had stifled every sentiment of nature. Inhumanly turned into the streets with nothing but miserable rags to cover them, they wandered about helpless

and forlorn, while the parents, by this barbarity, became the murderers of those to whom not long before they boasted to have given life. All these poor wretches brought nothing with them into the street but a little pitcher, a porringer, and some wretched rag, such as an old blanket, or something similar, to cover them. With this miserable equipage they crawled on as far as they could. Some fell after a few steps, exhausted by such an effort---others, stopping to rest continually, by this means got at length to the place they sought.---They laid down on the threshold of a door, or on a stone bench before some shop, or under the shelter of the awning before it. But even these sad asylums were soon denied them. Every one feared the approach of a person infected, and drove them from their houses, throwing dirty water or the lees of wine on the threshold and on the pavement to prevent their remaining there. Thus, driven from the streets, they had no resource but to seek refuge in the squares and market-places.

It was there that the heart and senses were wholly overpowered. He must indeed have been lost to every sentiment of humanity who could behold unmoved so many miserable figures, perhaps two hundred at a time, deprived of every comfort, and sinking under the weight of the most malignant of all diseases, exposed, without any means of procuring an alleviation of their suffer-

ings, alike to the scorching heat of the sun and to the chillness of the night air. Death was painted on every face, though in different forms and colours. One was pale and cadaverous—another furiously red—another wan and livid—another yellow—another violet. Some with eyes sunk and hollow—others with eyes sparkling with fever—some with looks faint and languishing—others wild and distracted; but all with an air of terror and despondency which rendered them scarcely cognizable. As the plague assumes all sorts of symptoms, so all sorts of complaints were to be heard. Some complained of the most acute pains in the head and in all parts of the body—others were afflicted with cruel vomitings—others with violent swellings in the belly—others with burning tumours. One, feeble and languishing, uttered not a word—another, animated by delirium, talked incessantly; in short, it was an assemblage of all the woes imagination can picture to itself, aggravated by the idea that while nothing, as it is well known, gives so much relief in this disorder as perspiration, if this were procured in the day, it was immediately checked by being exposed to the repulsive air of the night.

Nor let it be supposed that this frightful spectacle was confined to one place alone—it was the same in all. The Course, the gayest place in the town, the great promenade of the principal com-

pany, where the ladies usually appeared in all their splendor and elegance, exhibited one of the most frightful among these scenes*. Seeking shelter under the shade of the trees from the sun, by which they were burned from without, and the fever that parched them within, they demanded only a little water to allay their thirst; but from no one could it be obtained—all charity was extinguished in every breast. These unhappy wretches sought the most public parts in which to expose their misery; in hopes that, among the numbers accustomed to pass, some one might be found whose heart would be touched with their sufferings—alas, in vain! all shun, all fly them. They must wait the arrival of a Turk or Infidel, who, like the Samaritan in the Gospel, may wash their wounds and administer to their woes---but Christians only pass, and, like the Priest and the Levite, while they pity their misfortunes, they pass without relieving them. Cruel and forlorn situation, which will for ever be a shame to Christianity!

But to see the acme of desolation and horrors collected in one point of view, we have only to cast our eyes upon the Rue Dauphine, which leads

* The Course is an avenue of trees in the middle of the town about a thousand feet long, and is one of the great promenades of the town. It was much more frequented before the Revolution than it is at present.

from the Course to the hospital of the convalescents. The last efforts of the sufferers were directed to this spot, in hopes of reaching the hospital and being admitted there. But if they did reach it, how few could be admitted; and, not having power to return, they laid down to breathe their last in this street. Let the reader imagine a street 1080 feet long, and 30 wide, covered for a long time with these miserable wretches, to a degree that no one could quit their houses without passing as it were over a heap of bodies, dead or dying. Who can describe the sufferings of such a situation, or the various attitudes of these expiring bodies, and the dismal cries and groans to be heard on all sides? Crowded together, they had scarcely so much room as the uneasy state occasioned by the disease demanded. Some died before they reached the hospital; others, through weakness, fell down in the kennel, and had not strength to crawl away from it---others, parched with thirst, sought to dip their tongues in the water, and expired in the effort---in short, that none of the horrors to be seen in Jerusalem might be wanting at Marseilles, mothers were seen expiring with their infants at their breasts.

Shall we advance further, and look into that hospital, the aspect of which is enough to melt the most obdurate heart? Every part is covered with sick, with dying, and with dead---they are

pell-mell together, extended on the ground or on benches of stone, wherever the eye turns. Those who are placed the most commodiously are on a straw mattress alone, without sheets, without a blanket, without any kind of covering. Except a very small number lodged within the house, all are without assistance, without comfort. Alas! what better could be expected from those who only engaged in the service of these places the better to exercise their spirit of rapacity and plunder? Can hearts which sell themselves to the commission of crimes be susceptible of the charity and compassion requisite to attend upon the sick? What must have been the feelings of the unhappy victims left to the care of such obdurate wretches? ---they found themselves in a state not less desolate and forlorn than in their own houses. Besides, many had brought thither what money they had, and the things of most value in their houses, expecting to find themselves in a place of security. How cruel, then, was their mortification and disappointment on perceiving that they were only brought to feed a parcel of hungry and insatiate harpies? In the court of this hospital was always a heap of dead bodies thrown in confusion one upon another, so that the lower, crushed by the weight of the others, dyed the pavement with blood, and left a spectacle not less horrible than the infection was dangerous. But let us quit this

tragic scene, on which we have, perhaps, already dwelt too long.

We must, however, pause for a moment at another hospital—that for the reception of poor and infant orphans—the most worthy objects of Christian charity, and the most cherished portion of the flock of Jesus Christ. Alas! how cruelly were they neglected!—To give an idea of this in general, and not enter too much into particular details, which fatigue by repetition, we will only say, that of between two and three thousand children scarcely a hundred escaped; and that the steward of the house, convicted of divers crimes during this period of calamity, was hung in the February following.

If the sight of the sick excited alternately sentiments of horror and compassion, that of the dead raised trouble and terror in every breast. All the streets were covered with them; such numbers fell every day, that it became a matter of the utmost embarrassment to provide for their interment. It was scarcely possible to find persons who would make graves, or remove the bodies; and those who could be prevailed on to undertake this melancholy office made an infamous traffic of it, removing only the remains of such as had left relations in a situation and with a disposition to pay them handsomely. It will easily be imagined that, in such circumstances, the number interred

was very small. The dead, therefore, accumulated in such heaps, that the moment seemed to approach when their removal would become impracticable. In its proper place we shall show how this important affair was finally arranged. In the mean time, it is not difficult to conceive what must have been the situation of a town, in which, perhaps, a thousand persons had died in a day for many days successively, to whom the streets and public places served as a tomb : even the most spacious were so choked up that it was scarcely possible, in passing them, to find a place of rest for the foot, except in putting it on a corpse. Before the doors of the churches this miserable spectacle was in its fullest extent of horror. The sufferers, finding a sort of melancholy consolation in breathing their last sad sigh on a spot they regarded as holy, thronged around these edifices, and lay there heaped together, in a manner the bare idea of which chills and revolts the soul. Upon an esplanade called La Tourette, between the cathedral church and Fort St. John, a quarter inhabited only by mariners and others of the lowest among the people, there lay at one time more than a thousand corpses ; and the Course was so filled with these unhappy victims, that, whereas it was once the great resort of the young, the gay, and the dissipated, the great theatre where they displayed their pomps and luxuries, it was now the place of all

others to teach them an awful lesson of the vanity and futility of every thing mundane. The parish of St. Ferreol alone was exempt from these horrors, owing to the cares of the rector and the commissaries, who, with more prudence than was shown by those in the other quarters of the city, had always sextons in readiness to make graves, and carts to carry away the dead the moment they expired.

A task even more painful to the survivors than that of succouring the afflicted during the malady, was that of disembarassing the house of the dead body when any one expired. The more a friend has been dear during his life, the more does the heart revolt from the sight of that friend deformed and degraded by the stroke of death. If, then, the idea of approaching a corpse be at all times sufficiently revolting, how much greater must be the repugnance to approach one infected with a contagious malady ! It was vain to expect that any motives, either of charity or interest, could induce a stranger to relieve the relations from this melancholy care ; so that the latter, after having kept the corpse perhaps two or three days, was obliged at last, spite of the repugnance of nature, to submit to so painful a duty. The child performed the obsequies of his parents, the parents of their children. Some carried, some dragged the body out of the house ; and those who were un-

able to do the one or the other threw it out of the window. Some of these corpses were wholly naked; others wrapped in an old sheet, blanket, or other rag---some were in their usual clothes---these were usually such as had died the most suddenly, after a few hours' illness. Some were rolled up in their mattresses, and others tied to a plank which had served as a bier to carry them, and a very, very small number were in coffins.

Among this mass of dead were an infinite number of children of all ages; for the physicians observed, that they always had the disease with the greatest violence, so that very few escaped. Some of these bodies were seated resting against the doors of houses, and in all kinds of attitudes, remaining in those in which the stroke of death had found them, and in general so hideous and deformed in all their features, that they were no longer to be known. This fatal disease makes impressions which remain even when the body has become clay; and as if it were not content to destroy life, but exercised alike its fury after death, the remains corrupt sooner in those who die of this malady than of any other, so that in ten or twelve hours the corpse exhales an odour altogether insupportable. What must the infection then have been after this evil had continued for some days!—Some of the bodies were half decayed, and so corrupted that the flesh dissolved as it were by

the waters of the kennels, ran with them down the stream, and formed rivulets of putridity in the streets. We have seen the most beautiful woman in all Marseilles mingled indiscriminately with the other corpses in one of the squares. How many ministers of the Most High, alas ! shared the same fate !

A spectacle even more horrible than all presented itself from time to time, and compelled the passenger to turn away from the spot, and seek another way to arrive at his destination. This was of miserable victims whom the phrensy of the disease had urged to throw themselves out of the window. One had his skull fractured, and the brains scattered all about—another streamed with blood from the wounds he had received---another had all his limbs broken. A further circumstance of horror was, that the dogs, starved by the desertion or death of their masters, ran about the city, and, seizing on the bodies, dragged them about and devoured them. But let us not dwell too much on these things ; let us hasten to finish a recital which we cannot give without shuddering, and inspiring others with the same horrors in reading that we ourselves experienced in beholding them.

The vapours arising from the number of bodies thus left to corrupt in the streets infected the air, and spread the contagion to parts which had

hitherto escaped. Some monasteries, as well as many private houses, which by being strictly shut up, and avoiding all intercourse with the town, had hitherto escaped infection, now began to feel the effects of these empoisoned exhalations. The moment seemed arrived when it was impossible that any one should be spared by the contagion; and when Marseilles, delivered over an entire prey to desolation, should not find one inhabitant remaining alive to tell her mournful tale to posterity. But it was even at this moment that the anger of Heaven, not willing that every soul should perish in a city which, from its flourishing state, he might be supposed to have viewed once with an eye of particular regard---at this moment he stretched out the arm of mercy towards her, and inspired those charged with the government with the means of remedy we shall hereafter explain.

To this infection was added another, not less dangerous. An idea being circulated in the town that the dogs were liable to imbibe the contagion, and communicate it again in their turn, a pitiless warfare was commenced against these animals. They were hunted about everywhere, and fired at from all quarters without remorse; so that in a few days the streets were no less heaped with theirs than with human bodies. A prodigious number were then thrown into the port; but the sea cast-

ing them back again upon the quays, where they were exposed to the excessive heat of the sun in that quarter, an infection so dreadful arose, that this place, which had hitherto been the only one free from the horrors we have described, became no less noxious than the rest of the city.

Nor was it the bodies alone which choked up the streets and rendered them impassable; they were equally obstructed by the quantity of wearing apparel, furniture, and other infected objects thrown from the windows of the houses, so that in many places clothes, mattresses, &c. &c. heaped together and covered with mud, formed a barrier impossible to be passed. If the infection occasioned by this practice was infinitely dangerous, the only method taken to remove these objects was not without sufficient cause of alarm. Every day bonfires were made of them, as a general idea was circulated, that it was impossible to purge them of the contagion but by such a conflagration. In time, however, this prejudice was removed, or the town had been left totally destitute of these necessities.

Such was the state of the city at the most dreadful epoch of the disorder. This continued till very near the end of September. Let us now turn to the means at length employed to put a stop to disorders so horrible, after having first shown how the sick were deprived on a sudden of all spiritual

succour, as well as the aid of medicine, and all others of which they stood in need.

But lest we be suspected of exaggeration in the dreadful picture we have here drawn, another shall be subjoined to this work, given in terms much more elegant and impressive, and to which the most sceptical and incredulous cannot refuse to accord their belief, since it comes from the highest authority,—from the most worthy and excellent prelate Henry de Belzunce, lord bishop of Marseilles*.

* This piece will be found in the Appendix, No. III.

CHAP. XIII.

The confessors, the physicians, and surgeons fail all at once.—Zeal of the lord bishop of Marseilles.

IF the sick had not, in the excess of their misery, been deprived of the ordinary means of consolation and spiritual aid by virtue of the sacraments, they might have derived greater advantages from their sufferings.—Abandoned by men, they would have placed their whole confidence in God; and their pious reflections would have softened their sorrows, and enabled them to bear them with greater patience. But when the contagion was at the highest, they were no less deprived of this consolation than of all other; and if some were so happy as to have the power of confessing themselves, it must be said that the greater part were so unfortunate as to die without confession. Not that the priests and holy fathers ever were deficient in zeal and charity on this awful occasion; they fulfilled strictly the duties of faithful shepherds of the Lord, sacrificing themselves without reluctance for their flock, never ceasing to visit and console them till called to receive their reward even in the moment when they were most striving to merit it.

Those who died at the beginning of the malady, and even many at the commencement of the second period, enjoyed the benefit of the sacraments before they expired; but about the beginning of September the possibility of performing this holy office ceased. It were tedious to enter into a detail of the several particular services rendered; we will only say in general, that nothing could exceed the zeal shown by the servants of God, both parish priests and members of religious communities, till the numbers who had perished, and the immense increase of the mortality, occasioned a total cessation of all spiritual comfort to the dying.

Some members of the church, and among these the principal were those belonging to the chapter of the cathedral, it is true, deserted their posts and fled at the first breaking out of the contagion, but the majority of the clergy faithfully discharged their duty and became martyrs to it. One canon of the cathedral only remained in the city amid the general desertion of that body, of whom we shall speak more fully hereafter.

Almost all the religious houses were more or less desolated. Before the nature of the malady was declared, and while the churches were still kept open, the inhabitants of the city went in crowds to confession; some from general habits of piety, others from the terrors with which the

idea of a contagious distemper inspired them. Among these many were already infected, though the contagion had not yet begun to manifest itself, and communicated by this means the infection of their bodies to those from whom they sought the cure of their souls. It is, besides, a common practice in Marseilles to summon the fathers of a neighbouring community to confess the sick; and by this means, united to the other, the infection was spread widely among the religious houses. In those of the Observantins, the reformed Augustins, the Servites, the Grands Carmes, the Peres de St. Antoine, the Trinitaires, the Minimes, the Carmes Dechaussés, scarcely a single member escaped. Some of these fathers, who were the most indefatigable in the performance of the last offices to the sick, died, perhaps, as much from fatigue as from the pestilence.

Nor did this disease spare the fathers of the Oratoire, though the power of confessing had been taken from them long before the time of its breaking out. The superior of that house, who had all his life long shown the most ardent zeal for the salvation of the souls of his fellow-citizens, relaxed not on this occasion; and though he could not administer the sacraments to the sick, he, as well as many others of the fathers, went about from house to house consoling them, and exhorting them to piety and resignation. I myself re-

ceived several of these consolatory visits from the superior during the time that I was afflicted with the malady. Indeed the Christian charity of these worthy members of the church of Christ, confined, for want of powers, from performing the most essential offices to the sick, seemed to become more ingenious in finding ways of evincing their benevolence. They charged themselves with the care of the poor in the neighbourhood of their houses, to whom they daily distributed alms from the commencement of the contagion till the 8th of October, when their means of succour were totally exhausted; substituting thus, by temporal aid, what the want of powers precluded their offering in spiritual. The pious superior died on the 11th of September, in the exercise of those offices of charity to which all his life had been devoted.

But of all the religious orders, those who distinguished themselves the most on this occasion were the Capucins, the Recolets, and the Jesuits. The two former distributed themselves in all the parishes, visiting the quarters the most infected, their zeal ending only with their lives; and when those of the city were all sick or had perished, they summoned their brethren from other quarters, who supplied the offices they were themselves no longer able to fulfil. But the Jesuits above all, a society the institution of which had no other ob-

ject but the glory of God, and whose sole occupation is the salvation of souls, could not pass over so distinguished an occasion for contributing both to the one and the other. Indeed their zeal was such, that two only escaped the malady, and only nine out of twenty-nine recovered from it. They went about from street to street confessing all whom they found, both in the houses and exposed in the streets, distributing alms, facing death undauntedly in all its most hideous, disgusting, and dangerous forms. One of the most zealous, father Millet, took upon himself not only the office of spiritual pastor to the unfortunate sufferers, but of commissary to the Rue de l'Escale, the great focus of the contagion. He established a kitchen there, and engaged some charitable sisters to make broth and other necessaries for the sick. Nor was his zeal bounded by the quarters especially committed to his care; he visited every part of the town. I myself had the consolation of being visited by him during my affliction.

Another of this society who particularly distinguished himself was father Dufé, who came expressly from Lyons to succour the unfortunate Marseillois: he soon received the crown of martyrdom he sought, and expired the victim of his pious cares. Another of these fathers, in passing one day through the Rue de l'Oratoire, found a corpse entirely naked, which obstructed the passage: he

wrapped his handkerchief round the body, and laid it decently on one side of the street to leave the passage free. This fact I have from two fathers of the Oratoire who were eye witnesses of so laudable an instance of zeal and courage.

But amid the mortality which reigned among the servants of the Most High, he was pleased to spare to us him who had inspired their zeal, who might be said to be the soul and life of all these pious exertions. This was our excellent and illustrious bishop, who, through the whole course of the calamity, exercised in the most exemplary manner the duty of a faithful pastor towards his suffering sheep.

On the first rumour of the contagion, and from the 15th of July, he had ordered prayers, and particularly the orison of St. Roch, in the masses of all the priests and monks, and declared in this ordonnance, that he is ready to sacrifice his health and even life for his flock. We shall soon see that these were not the idle and ostentatious professions of a sterile charity, but the solid effusions of the heart, in conformity with which he uniformly acted.

While the malady was yet almost confined to the Rue de l'Escaie, in which it first broke out, he went to the parish of St. Martin, in which this street lies, to inform himself of the truth of the affair—he exhorted the ministers to perform their

duty, and gave them his orders on that subject. Foreseeing that the disorder might have the most fatal effects, he assembled a few days after the ministers of the different parishes in the city, and the superiors of the religious houses, whom he exhorted not to forsake him in circumstances so calamitous, but to join their prayers and efforts to his to appease the anger of Heaven. He animated their zeal, and fortified their courage by discourses the most tender, and by the strongest motives, by those of the glory of God and of his holy religion, of the salvation of so many souls, the honour of their own characters, and, above all, by the eternal rewards in store for such as should expose their lives for their suffering brethren. He prescribed the manner in which they ought to administer the sacraments, say the mass, and celebrate the holy offices, and in general every thing relative to their duty in so critical a time.

Towards the end of the same month, seeing that the malady daily increased, and considering that the terrible God whose hand pressed so heavily upon us was a God of peace and goodness, he exhorted the faithful to have recourse to his clemency, and endeavour to appease his anger by fasting and prayer. To this effect, on the 30th of July, he published an ordonnance commanding three days of fasting and prayer in all the churches, and processions in the other towns of the diocese, not choosing to order them in this, that too great a

communication among the people might be avoided. Let us not omit a passage in this ordonnance, which was equally consoling to us as glorious for himself. "We flatter ourselves," says he, "that in praying for the afflicted flock, ye will not forget the pastor, but supplicate the Lord not to preserve to him an useless life, which he will ever expose voluntarily for his sheep, but to fill him with his divine grace, and have mercy upon him." The sequel will show whether this life was useless.

After taking these means to avert the anger of the Lord, he went about into all the parishes distributing confessors to all the quarters, showing himself everywhere, strengthening the hearts of the people by his presence, and supporting them by his alms, encouraging those who had the care of the sick to a faithful discharge of their duty; and, far from giving into the public prejudices against the physicians, applauding their zeal, and encouraging them to perseverance in the good path they had chosen. He is already without any train, without equipage, and we shall soon see him almost without servants. Every day he goes to the Hotel de Ville to assist at the consultations of the magistrates for the public safety; in short, he neglects nothing which the duties of his station require. The increase of the malady and consequent increase of personal danger make no difference; he is still every where, he fears nothing

for himself, he thinks only of the wants of those committed to his care.

The disease, meanwhile, begins to insinuate itself into his house, and deprives him in the end of almost all his household. The angel of death is inexorable ; he knocks alike at the gates of palaces and cottages, he spares none. The palace of the bishop became soon so surrounded by dead bodies, as well as the whole street in which it stands, that it was almost impossible for him to go out. His zeal thus finding itself somewhat constrained, and impatient to be more at large, he conceived the design of removing to some other quarter of the town, where he should be less subject to these inconveniences. The Rue de St. Ferreol was the only one where access to the houses was perfectly free ; and he removed thither to have a more ready egress and regress to his house, and perform his pious duties with greater facility.

These became more necessary than ever towards the middle of September, by the excessive mortality which had taken place among the ministers of God. He then published an ordonnance summoning all who had retired into the country to return back to their posts. He could not without the extremest affliction behold his sheep deprived of the last consolation in the moments of death, nor the fall of so many ministers whose piety had rendered them so dear to him, and whose me-

mory will always be so precious to us. Urged by these motives, on this defection of other assistance, he himself supplied the place of the deceased ; and unmoved by the advice of the physicians, the prayers of his friends, and the tears of his few remaining domestics, who loved him as a father, he goes all about the city, accompanied only by Mons. Boujarol, the only canon of the cathedral who had remained in the city, and his almoners. He exhorts, he animates, he encourages, he confesses the sick ; assisted by those who accompanied him, he distributes his alms with his own hand, he is all the day long on the Course, and in the places most filled with the wretched victims of the disease, and most shunned and avoided by others. Thus Aaron, formerly, in the camp of the Israelites, ran with his incense in his hand to place himself between the living and the dead, interceding for the people, and obtaining by his prayers a cessation of the dreadful visitation of God, which in one moment had swept off 14700 souls.

It could scarcely be hoped, amid dangers so imminent, that neither himself nor any of his followers should fall victims to their benevolence. In effect, the generous pastor had soon the affliction to see the zealous canon, his associate, expire by his side ; but for himself, he remained to the last unassailed by the dreadful foe. The Lord


had given orders to his angel to guard him and watch over his safety ; he seemed to lead him with his hands, and spread his shield around him to defend him from the mortal assailant. May the Lord continue the same favour towards him, and grant him length of days on earth, and in heaven those eternal rewards prepared for his faithful shepherds* !

About the same time that the unfortunate inhabitants of Marseilles were almost deprived of spiritual comfort, the assistance of medical counsel likewise nearly failed. Let it be recollected, that we have stated that in the beginning there were no more than four physicians to attend the sick in the different quarters of the city. Mons. Bertrand, one of the four, fell sick about the middle of August. He had then, however, but a slight attack of the malady, and in ten days was able to resume his functions. Some days after he was again attacked ; but from this second attack he also recovered in a few days. The affliction of

* No one will read this account of the piety and heroism of Mons. de Belzunce, and his almost miraculous preservation amidst the dangers into which they led him, without calling to mind the apostrophe which these circumstances have drawn from the elegant pen of Pope in his *Essay on Man*.

Why drew Marseilles' good bishop purer breath
When Nature sicken'd, and each gale was death ?

losing all his family, whom he saw fall one after the other without the power of saving them, brought on a second relapse, which was much more severe than the other attacks, so that he was for a long time disabled from the possibility of attending to his duty. Mons. Montagnier, who had been summoned from the abbey of St. Victor to replace him, was soon seized with the distemper, and, less fortunate than his colleague, died in a few days. He was as universally regretted at his death as he had been esteemed during his life, for his skill, his integrity, and assiduity in his attendance wherever his assistance was required. Mons. Peyssonnel followed him soon after; and Mons. Raymond, exhausted by fatigue, left without a servant, almost without necessaries from the dearth which accompanied the disease, was obliged about the end of August to go into the country for the recovery of his health, whence he did not return till the beginning of October. Thus two physicians alone remained in the city, Messrs. Robert and Audon. The former of these continued his attendance through the whole of the contagion without ever experiencing the least inconvenience, but he had the misfortune to lose all his family. The latter, being left alone in his house, sought refuge among the Capucins, whence he constantly continued his exertions till the beginning of Octo-



ber, at which time he began to find himself exhausted and much indisposed. The sequel will explain his unhappy fate.

While the city was thus left almost destitute of physicians, Mons. Michel was still detained at the infirmary for the few sick who remained there; though, as no fresh patients had been carried thither since the 8th of August, the attendance of a physician might easily have been dispensed with, and the patients might have been removed to the hospital of the city. Three assistant-surgeons were also detained there, though surgeons were not less wanted in the town, since they had begun to fail even before the physicians. Twenty-five masters and assistants had died between the middle of August and end of September, and there remained only four or five, of whom two falling sick, the others, exhausted by fatigue, or terrified by the death of so many of their colleagues, retired into the country. Almost all the apprentices were likewise either sick or dead, and the few that remained were necessary in the hospital of the convalescents. The navy surgeons on board the vessels in quarantine had even been already taken for the service of this hospital: but they could no more resist the contagion than the others; for at this time it was so violent, that scarcely any one who approached the diseased escaped. As for the apothecaries, five of them had

already fallen victims, and the rest were left without apprentices, many of the latter also being dead, and the others having been taken for the service of the hospitals :—left thus alone in their shops, they found it impossible to prepare the medicines necessary for such a number of sick, and besides were exhausted of many drugs requisite for them, from the immense demand, and the impracticability of procuring a supply. Some of these, to their shame be it spoken, availed themselves of the pressure of the times to sell their medicines at an extravagant price ; a crime so much the more flagrant in proportion as the demand was so great, and the necessities of the people so pressing.

Mons. le Marquis de Pilles, the governor, whose attention nothing escaped, had, however, on the 9th of August published an ordonnance commanding all physicians and surgeons absent from the city to return within three days, on pain of being deprived of their professions. But what is more singular is, that the echevins obtained a decree from the parliament, on the 2d of September, enjoining the intendants of health, the physicians and governors of the hospitals, to return to their duty on pain of a fine of two thousand livres, and being declared unworthy and incapable of exercising their profession. And this invidious decree was issued even at the time when the physicians of the hospitals were actually in attendance

in the city, and while it was obvious to every one, that if physicians and surgeons were wanted, it was less on account of the desertion of those belonging to the city, than of the immense number of sick, and the deaths or sickness of those who had sacrificed themselves for their suffering brethren.

An application had already been made to the intendant of the province to procure us a supply of medical assistance. Always attentive to our wants, the latter communicated the application to Mons. Bernage, intendant of Languedoc, praying him to request from Montpellier the aid desired. Still further to remedy the deficiency among our corps, the echevins sent bills to be posted all over this and the neighbouring provinces, inviting all physicians and surgeons, as well masters as assistants, by the most advantageous offers to come to our assistance. The sequel will show the success of these different applications.

CHAP. XIV.

Progress of the disease in the quarter of Rive-neuve, upon the sea, and in the environs of the city.

THE fury of the contagion, meanwhile, was not confined within the walls of Marseilles. The quarter of Rive-neuve, which is on one side of the port, and is separated by that and the arsenal from the rest of the city, had long been preserved free from it, by the good order which Mons. le Chevalier Rose, commissary-general for the district, had established there. But since it was very difficult, not to say impossible, to prevent any communication between that quarter and the other parts of the town, the infection was brought thither towards the end of August by some persons, who, quitting their own houses when the malady began to appear in their neighbourhood, sought refuge among their friends or relations in the Rive-neuve. At first it seemed to threaten the same ravages there as in the city; but Mons. Rose, a man whose penetration and foresight were alive to every thing, made such happy dispositions both for the assistance of the sick and the burial of the dead, that its progress was soon checked, and the

disorders which reigned in the city were wholly prevented.

He established an hospital in the Rope-walk, which runs along the outside of the ramparts, in which he placed a master-surgeon recovered from the disease, together with an apothecary, and every thing necessary for the exercise of his business. He also engaged the attendance of Mons. Montagnier the physician, who, after having attended all day in his rounds in the city, on returning in the evening to the abbey of St. Victor, which is in the quarter of Rive-neuve, visited the sick in this hospital. For all these expenses Mons. Rose, with a generosity almost without example, advanced the necessary funds under a total uncertainty of their ever being repaid. Thus the remotest quarter of the city, which, from its situation, would naturally have been supposed the most destitute and abandoned, was by the care and vigilance of one single man the best provided with all necessaries. Happy had it been for the city, had we been blessed with a few more of the same stamp.

The course of the contagion was much the same in the Rive-neuve as every where else. It was attended with the same symptoms, spread rapidly from house to house, so that few remained wholly uninfected, and ceased about the same time as in the rest of the city. The abbey of St. Victor

was the only place into which this fatal disease never penetrated. Doubtless it respected a spot in which the ashes of so many saints and pious solitaries repose ; and whence the incense of so many sacrifices and prayers ascended daily to the living God—for this is the only church in which divine service was performed without intermission during the whole of the malady—a place, in short, where the pious abbé, Monsieur de Matignon, formerly bishop of Condon, who was shut up there, ceased not day or night to raise his hands to heaven, and pour out his soul before the holy altar of God in pious orisons and prayers for this unfortunate city. Such was his occupation during the contagion—before its commencement he had disbursed large sums in works of piety and in alms—these he continued in addition to his prayers and tears.

Those who flattered themselves with finding upon the sea a sure asylum against the contagion remained not long in this delusion, but were soon lamentably convinced of their error. Obligated at intervals to land and seek a supply of provisions and other necessaries, they imbibed the infection, and, carrying it to the vessels, those on board perished, if possible, in greater misery than their brethren who remained on shore, in proportion as their situation rendered all succour impossible, as they were destitute of all conveniences, and wholly

unable to avoid each other.—More wretched even than their fellow citizens from whom they had fled, some perish alone in a little boat driven from the ship; some in the phrensy of disease throw themselves alive into the sea, and anticipate the tomb which others only receive after breathing their last. Many of these bodies were found from time to time cast on shore half devoured by the inhabitants of the waters; in short, the desolation was the same by sea as by land—no place was safe from this terrible scourge—no element exempt from its fury.

Even those who, separating themselves from the rest, had encamped in tents without the town, or remained without shelter in the open air, in hopes by this means to find a sure asylum—even these enjoyed not greater security than those on the water—nothing can preserve them from the general disaster. The very air in which they place their sure hope and confidence seems infected, and the asylum they have chosen only renders their fate more deplorable, by removing them out of the reach of all consolation and assistance; till at length they are reduced, in the forlorn hope—a hope strongly allied to despair—of ameliorating their situation, to seek once more a refuge in that city from which they had but a very short time before precipitately fled.

It is easy to conceive the wretched situation of families thus compelled to return. One carries a dying child in his arms; while another, unable to support such a fatigue, drags an expiring infant after him along the road. Here it is a whole family, whose languid steps announce the deplorable state to which they are reduced;—there a tottering youth endeavours to support a dying father, till he can lead him within the reach of succour. One carries all his effects upon his back; another has not strength to support such a burthen. Many fall exhausted by the way, and their bodies obstruct the passage of the rest; while those who arrive, only augment the horrors and consternation that reign in the city.

The gates not being yet guarded, the entrance remained free to the neighbouring peasants; and though they did not come in crowds, as formerly, there were always enough who, more courageous than the rest, or allured by the hopes of an extravagant price for their commodities, brought them to sale. Besides, the citizens who had fled to their bastides sent continually for things they wanted; and by these means the disease was soon spread in all the district around the city. It began in the village of St. Marcel, and the quarter of St. Marguerite, whither it was carried by some persons from the Rue de l'Escale. From thence it spread into the other hamlets; and thus, by de-

grees, amongst almost all the bastides. The terror of the malady was even greater in the country than in the city; but, notwithstanding the precautions which this fear inspired, the contagion, once introduced, spread there with no less rapidity. The gardeners were in general the first attacked, commencing with those nearest to the city, and extending afterwards regularly to those the most distant. Among these country houses, too many instances, alas! were daily seen of the sick experiencing all that can be conceived most cruel and barbarous from the inhumanity of their fellow-creatures. The moment they were seized, they were driven not to the most remote corner of the house, but of the little domain around it, where they had no other witness of their sufferings but the birds of heaven, who, by a mournful silence, and the cessation of their accustomed songs, seemed to testify how much they sympathized with their sorrows. Those who were placed the most commodiously, were in a little hut made of branches of trees or old sail-cloth. Here have been seen faithful lovers exposing themselves for the sake of their mistresses thus abandoned, in the hope that a happy marriage would be the reward of their cares. A blind passion inspired more courage and fortitude than paternal affection, even than christian charity.

Here relations were constrained to perform the

rites of sepulture one for the other ; and, experiencing all the bitterness of this sad duty, to make the grave with their own hands, and afterwards carry or drag the body into it, and cover it with earth. Wives were reduced to this cruel extremity for their husbands, children for their fathers ; or, perhaps, the father, after having buried his wife and all his children, rested without sepulture himself. A peasant and his wife, who had interred all their children, one after the other, being themselves both struck with the malady, the husband made two graves ; and some days after, finding his strength constantly decrease, and that it would be impossible much longer to resist it, he took a tender farewell of his wife, in whom the malady was not yet arrived at an equal degree of force, and, crawling to the grave, laid himself down there and expired. To this extraordinary circumstance let us add another of a woman who joined to a fortitude as extraordinary a tenderness for her husband yet more striking.—During the course of her illness, she uniformly refused all succour from him, nor would suffer him to approach her ; and, carrying her cares for his safety even beyond the term of her life, when she found her last hour approach, she desired him to throw her the end of a long cord, which she fastened round her body, enjoining him with her expiring breath not to touch her corpse, but to drag her by means of this cord to

the grave. But these proofs of tenderness were rare ; in general, there was even less charity towards each other in the country than in the city. No one dared approach a bastide infected, nor even enter the domain where a corpse had been interred. The fruits rested on the trees, and the grapes on the vines ; so that at the beginning of winter, while deprived of their leaves, they were yet loaded with fruit, which no one dared approach and gather.

The most barren rocks, the most remote caves, the most distant and desert spots, afforded no security against the contagion. It penetrated every where. The shepherds, who had no intercourse but with their flocks, were struck with it ; the citizens shut up in their bastides found no shelter from it. The same evils of dearth and disease, from which they sought a refuge by flying the city, pursue them into the country. They are deprived equally of all medical succour, some surgeons' apprentices alone escaping from the city from time to time to give their advice in its neighbourhood ; and this cannot be had but at an exorbitant price. The mortality, in short, was so general in the territory, that scarcely an inhabitant remained in many of the villages and country-houses ;—the lands remained uncultivated and unsown ;—all was sorrow and desolation. The only advantage that the country had over the city was, that, from the

greater facility of interment, it presented not the same frightful spectacle of dead bodies corrupting in heaps on each other. That excepted, the horrors were as great, or perhaps greater, without than within the walls. Stables, and other the most dirty and mean places, were the usual retreats of the infected. I myself saw a young girl whom her parents had driven into the stable; and, not content with this, they walled up the door which communicated with the house, and gave her the few necessaries with which she was furnished by means of a hole made in the wall.

Nor was the situation of those who finally escaped the disease much more happy. Besides the constant state of apprehension in which they lived, and the infinite cares and precautions it cost them to be always on their guard against the infection, they suffered actually from the dearth, sometimes wanting the most common necessaries, or obliged to seek them at a great distance. Such was the scarcity of wood, that many persons were compelled to tear up their fruit-trees for fuel. This territory, formerly so delightful, lost in a moment all its charms; the vine and the olive seemed to languish, and the joy which reigned in all hearts was changed to mourning and tears. The sound of the tabor, which once spread gladness around, ceased; and the echo of mirth was heard no more---no more was the wine accompa-

nied with songs of delight, and the most pleasing liquors became bitter to the palate.

Such was the state of the country about Marseilles at this melancholy period;—and such it continued till a plan was finally formed for its succour, as will be shown in the sequel.

CHAP. XV.

The echevins demand counsel.—Convicts from the galleys granted to remove the dead.—Progress of their removal.

OVERPOWERED by the disorders above described, the magistrates began at length to feel what it was to sustain the whole weight of so painful an administration, and to confess that they would have acted more wisely in sharing it from the first with persons of judgment and discretion, whose prudent counsel and active cares might greatly have alleviated their burthen. But the time was past when such counsel and assistance were to be obtained: those capable of giving either the one or the other, finding themselves useless in the city, had retired from it. In this extremity, and not knowing where else to apply for relief, the echevins addressed themselves to the officers of the galleys, praying from them the counsel and aid of which they stood so much in need. Certainly they could not have made a more judicious application. Of this the excellent regulations established by these gentlemen in the arsenal and on board the galleys, and the happy consequences attendant on them, were a sufficient proof. Eager to extend their

cares wherever they could be useful to their fellow-creatures, the officers readily granted the request of the magistrates; and the chevaliers de Langeron, de Levi, and de Laroche met the governor and echevins at the Hotel de Ville, on the 21st of August and several following days.

In these assemblies divers resolutions were taken. First, in order to prevent exhalations ascending from the graves, which by infecting the air around them might hazard the further circulation of the contagion, it was determined that they should be visited, and more lime be thrown into them. It was next agreed to appoint commissaries for those quarters where there were none already; and in case no inhabitant should be found proper for the office, to take one from among some of the religious communities—a practice which had been observed in former contagions. A third resolution was to pray the bishop to put a stop to the performance of divine service in the churches, where mass was still celebrated, so much communication among the people being judged extremely dangerous. It was besides determined to erect gallows in the public places, to awe the populace and intimidate the malefactors. Many other regulations were taken equally useful, equally proper to answer the end proposed.

But the principal object which demanded attention was the removal of the dead bodies from the

streets, and finding means for their interment. In the beginning of the second period of the malady carts had been hired to carry away the dead, and the beggars and vagabonds were employed in this service under the orders of Mons. Bonnet, provost of the Maréchaussée, who had four guards under him. Those who were first employed soon fell a sacrifice to this dreadful office, nor were those who succeeded much longer proof against the subtlety of the contagion ; so that in a short time, whether it were that the city was cleared of those mendicants, or whether they were now afraid of showing themselves, this resource failed. Where then could persons be found to undertake this dangerous employment ?—the most necessary of all. The mortality, which visibly increased every moment, rendered the emergency, and consequently the danger also, every moment more pressing. The magistrates had again recourse to the officers of the galleys, praying that a certain number of convicts might be granted to carry away the dead bodies, promising an indemnity to the government for the loss occasioned to it should this boon be granted. A happy idea ; and to which we are perhaps indebted that any soul throughout the city escaped the mortality. The officers, entering very generously into the views of the magistrates, granted a supply of convicts ; and to induce them to work with greater alacrity, promised them their liberty if they should

survive :—a motive equally forcible was necessary to encourage them to a task so dangerous. Between the 20th and the 28th of August, no less than 133 convicts were granted for this purpose.

To accelerate this business as much as possible, guards on horseback were allotted to each cart, to inspect and urge on the work as well as to watch over the convicts, and prevent their plundering in the houses where they entered to take away the dead. But some of the streets in the old city being very narrow, and built upon a steep hill, so that it was impossible for carts to ascend them, hand-barrows were provided, on which the convicts carried the bodies till they could be deposited in the carts. An ordonnance was published on the 2d of September, by the governor and echevins, commanding all persons, immediately on any one expiring in a house, to remove the body into the street, as well to facilitate their work to the convicts, as to prevent the infection from the bodies remaining in the houses, and the thefts in which some of the convicts had been detected in entering them to take away the dead. On the 3d of September another ordonnance was published, inviting persons of all descriptions, by the most advantageous offers, to assist in carrying away the dead. But spite of all these efforts, the work proceeded very slowly. The ravages of the disease were so terrible that more died in one day

than could be removed in four. The first convicts allotted to this task were all dead; fresh supplies were granted from time to time; the number of carts were increased: but nothing could keep pace with the mortality, and the situation, instead of appearing in any degree amended, became every day worse and worse. If a street were cleared one day, on the morrow it was again covered with dead bodies, and, like the labours of the Danaides, this work constantly going on was as constantly to be recommenced. It was computed that in the latter end of August and beginning of September more than a thousand perished every day.

The distance to which the dead must be carried was another cause that made this work so very tedious, the graves being necessarily without the city. There were three near the gate of Rome, two near that of Aix, three without la Joliette, three at la Butte, and one without the gate of the Bernard du Bois. Some of these graves were 150 paces long, others 40, and the least 20, by ten feet wide, and eight deep. The two commissaries-general of the territory were charged with levying by force a certain number of peasants to prepare them; in this work they were aided by a company of grenadiers appointed for that purpose. The commissaries with the grenadiers were obliged also to attend at the graves to keep the peasants to their work. The

zeal and ardour with which they performed this disagreeable task cannot be sufficiently applauded. One of the commissaries died in the midst of his toil ; the other survived the contagion. The quarter of St. John, being the most remote of any from the graves, and inhabited only by the very lowest people, suffered the most severely by the mortality, and was always the most encumbered with dead. Even in the hospital of the convalescents, the rapidity of the disease was so much greater than any diligence that could be employed in removing the bodies, that it was in a situation scarcely less horrible than the streets.

In this embarrassment, every one proposed some new means of freeing the city from an evil which seemed to leave not the remotest shadow of hope, to those who yet remained alive, of escaping the terrible fate they daily witnessed. One advised to make large piles in the public places and burn the dead bodies, as had been done at Genoa during the last plague there, which did not in any respect yield in violence to this ; but it was here objected that the infection proceeding from the bodies burned was not less dangerous than what proceeded from them when left to corrupt in the streets. Another proposed to fill one of the largest vessels in the port with the dead, then to tow it out into the open sea and there sink it. I am not sure whether preparations were not even begun for the execution of this project, though

a moment's reflection must show that nothing could be more visionary. In the first place, it was impossible to fill the ship all at once; and after having carried a cargo thither one day, who would venture to return to it the next? And besides, it being a well-known fact, that when a body has been a certain time under water, so that all its parts are swelled to a degree that it becomes of equal volume with the water itself, it rises, and floats on the surface, was it not to be feared that so great a quantity of dead bodies might have force sufficient at length to raise the vessel, and carry the contagion floating upon the sea? A third expedient proposed was, to open vast graves in the streets, and throw the bodies into them with a double quantity of lime, avoiding by this means the delay of transporting them to such a distance. But there is not a street in all the town through which the conduits of the different fountains do not pass; and besides, where would workmen have been found to labour at this task, surrounded on all sides by the dead bodies themselves? A fourth proposed the heaping them in the streets and covering them with lime, so as to consume them at once without interment; but where was a sufficient quantity of lime to be found for such a purpose, or labourers and carts to transport it with the expedition requisite? Besides, as the consumption of a body by lime is not the work of a single day, the fresh bodies daily heaped together would have formed at length

such mountains in the streets as to render them impassable, and to prevent the removal of the infection.

The expedient which appeared the most efficacious for its expedition, and the easiest to execute, but which was certainly the most dangerous for the contagion, was to open the churches in those quarters which were the most remote from the graves, and fill the vaults with dead. This was proposed to the bishop, whose permission was necessary for the execution of the plan. That wise prelate, whose conduct throughout was only regulated by the public good, immediately consulted the physicians, whether this could be done with safety. These latter gave it as their opinion, that the measure was extremely imprudent, and that it was highly necessary the bodies should be interred without the city, and covered with at least six feet of earth. They said it was impossible that the lime thrown over the bodies, or any precautions taken to shut the vaults up close, should prevent infectious exhalations rising from them; and even supposing that this objection could be obviated, another arose in the great future inconvenience and embarrassment such a measure if carried into execution would occasion to the city. These vaults were extremely necessary as cemeteries in common cases, and it would be impossible to open them again for a very great length of time—

many years even must elapse before it could be done with safety.

On this opinion of the physicians the bishop warmly opposed the opening of the churches; but the author of the plan urging it on, and the populace eagerly catching at it, violent clamours arose both against the prelate and the physicians, and the vaults were at length forced open and filled with dead bodies, over which vast quantities of lime were thrown. The embarrassment to which the magistrates were in the end reduced to purify the churches, was however an ample justification of those who had opposed the measure.

The expedition with which this plan was executed seemed to promise an entire deliverance from the objects which had now so long wounded our eyes and hearts. Another effort was besides made for the remedying this evil, in opening two large graves near the cathedral; a project which had been formed some time before, and which was even begun to be executed, but was abandoned at the request of the nuns of the Holy Sacrament, whose house is close by the church. The necessity of the case now prevailed over every other consideration, and the graves were made and filled. Still, with all these aids, the work never seemed to advance; however great the number of dead removed one day, the next there appeared as many as ever.

A violent north wind, which set in on the 2d of September, seemed to aggravate these horrors, and increase twofold the malignity of the contagion. The few who remained in the houses of the magistrates are now destroyed ; the echevins are left without guards, without servants, without soldiers—the contagion sweeps them all away ; and those who give the orders are obliged to execute them themselves. The convicts fail : the 28th of August a fresh supply had been granted, the officers declaring at the same time that those shall be the last ; and most of them are either dead or sick. The echevins now write to the council of marine, praying them to supplicate his royal highness the regent to give orders that a number more may be granted, sufficient to save the city : but the answer must be a long time in coming, and the malady waits not its arrival ; it pursues its course unweariedly, nor abates an atom of its usual rapidity. An application was then made to the intendant of the province to interpose, and endeavour to procure the supply of which the city stood so much in need. This gentleman, ever ready to lend his aid on all subjects, delayed not a moment to apply to the officers of the galleys, who at his solicitation granted on the 1st of September another hundred convicts. With this reinforcement hopes were once more entertained that the city would be freed from the horrors by

which it had been so long oppressed : but still a guide was wanting who had sufficient address to put the machine in motion ; for without some one to direct, control, and as it were goad them on, what was to be expected from persons accustomed to labour only from fear of chastizement ? The difficulty was to find a leader bold enough to undertake this task. Mons. Moustier, one of the echevins, was the person who generously devoted himself to it. He had always been the principal inspector of this painful branch of the administration ; but now he does more, he never quits it for a moment, he is with the convicts from morning to night, he flies from quarter to quarter, not avoiding even those where the contagion rages with the greatest violence—he appears every where, and his presence seems to inspire activity into all who behold him. Sometimes he awes with threats, sometimes encourages by his liberality ; he arrives, in short, at the point of procuring the removal of a thousand bodies each day. Never did magistrate, it may truly be said, carry his zeal for the public service to a greater length.

But the flattering prospects at first held out of the city being finally freed from the dead bodies were soon clouded over. In the course of six days the hundred convicts were reduced to twelve ; some sunk through fatigue, others perished by the contagion—the horses failed, unable to sustain the

exertion occasioned by such excess of work in a time of violent heat—every thing, in short, fails but the zeal of the magistrate, which remains unabated notwithstanding such endless discouragements. He cannot now however labour with the same effect ; means are wanting to render his zeal effectual, and once more there are above two thousand bodies uninterred in the streets.

Yet the business of interment is that which of all others cannot permit interruption—it is the most urgent, the most important of all, and the echevins resolve on making new efforts for carrying it on. They went on the 6th of September, accompanied by Messrs. Claude, Rose, and Roland, intendants of health, to throw themselves at the feet of the officers of the galleys, and represent the deplorable state of the city, the only hope of saving which was in their goodness, supplicating them humbly once more to grant them a supply of convicts. The officers, touched with their supplications and the sufferings of the city, yielded, and another hundred convicts were granted, with forty soldiers and four officers to watch over them. Each officer was to receive ten livres per day, and the soldiers fifty sols ; and to all who should survive the contagion a hundred livres each was to be given upon its total cessation.

But since the efforts of man to save a city visited by the judgments of God must be vain,

unless his Almighty anger can also be softened, the echevins resolved on the 7th of September to establish by a public and solemn vow, as had been done in the last plague, an annual pension for ever of two thousand livres to the foundation of *Notre Dame de bon Secours*, for the care of poor orphan girls in the city and territory. This vow was solemnly made in the chapel of the Hotel de Ville, in presence of the bishop, who celebrated mass on the occasion. Such a sacrifice could not fail to be acceptable to the Most High ; and was more proper to appease his anger than what was made by the antient Marseillois on similar occasions. “Whenever,” says Petronius, “the city was afflicted with the plague, they took a beggar who was fed for a year at the public expense with all that could be procured the most delicate, at the expiration of which time the unhappy victim was clothed in sacerdotal habits and covered with leaves of vervain, in which state he was led through all parts of the city, when the people loaded him with execrations, imploring the gods, that all the misfortunes of the city might fall upon him ; and, to finish the ceremony, he was precipitated from the top of a high rock.” From this it should seem that the plague has ravaged this city many times anterior to those we have enumerated.

The same day the echevins, having received the aids granted from the galleys, animated with

fresh zeal, and an entire confidence in the mercy of the Lord which they had just implored, devoted themselves once more to the arduous office of clearing the streets of the dead bodies, occupying themselves almost solely with this, as the most important of all the business they had on their hands. To each of the four echevins was allotted a quarter of the city, in which he was to serve as inspector; and the convicts were divided into four brigades, to work under their orders. But since the ordinary course of business must not be wholly neglected, it was agreed that one of the echevins should attend every day, taking it by turns, at the Hotel de Ville, to keep all things in train; and that the great work of interment might not suffer by the absence of one of the heads, Mons. Rose undertook to supply the place of him who should be in attendance there. Through the whole course of our calamity, this gentleman was always among the most forward to assist wherever his presence could be useful. From the 27th of August he had performed the functions of the governor, who, exhausted by fatigue, had been ill ever since that day. His illness was an increase of trouble and consternation to the city.

Mons. Moustier, who had always been the most active of all the magistrates in pursuing the burial of the dead, had the quarter of the street of Aix, in which he distinguished himself, if possible,

with more than his usual ardour. The quarter of St. John, the most troublesome of all, fell to Mons. Audinar. He had hitherto been remarkable for the mildness and courtesy of his character: but he soon finds that these are not the qualities requisite to deal with convicts; that it was necessary to be boisterous and blustering to make them work. Behold him then sword in hand, pressing one, menacing another, hurrying from place to place, and in all things making his natural character yield to his duty to the public and the necessity of circumstances!

Nor were the other magistrates less diligent and active; they fly every where, they despise all danger, they are now as prompt to act as they had long been slow to believe; they spare no cares, no efforts, no fatigues, to save the city. History boasts the courage and valour of the antient Roman consuls in their military expeditions, but is not greater fortitude requisite to brave the dangers of contagion than those of war? Or is it less glorious to deliver our country from the ravages of so cruel a malady which destroys it within, than to guaranty it against the insults of a foreign foe, who only menaces it from afar? In effect, our consuls achieved at last by their cares and vigilance the important point of delivering the city from the heaps of dead bodies by which it had been so long infected; and the streets no longer

presented the same scene of misery and horror. Only one part yet remained uncleared, and this was the great esplanade we have already noticed, called *La Tourrette*, which is washed by the sea. There had been for a long time more than a thousand bodies in this place, and it was not a little difficult to find the means of disposing of them.

Mons. Rose, who was always as fertile in devising plans of succour in any emergency as prompt in action, was the person who relieved the quarter from this embarrassment. Near the place were two ruined bastions, and on examining them this gentleman found that if the rubbish which choked up the entrance were removed, they might be filled with dead bodies. The idea was no sooner suggested than means were taken for its execution. The convicts were sent thither; and on removing the rubbish, a vast cave was found capable of containing all the bodies. They were immediately thrown in with a quantity of lime, the rubbish was heaped upon them; and such was the zeal with which Mons. Rose urged on the work, that the whole was performed in the space of a few hours.

This important affair once accomplished, nothing more was necessary than to follow up well the established order for the regular burial of the dead, to prevent the streets from being again

infected with them. It must be owned, however, that the diligence and activity of the magistrates would have been much less effectual, had they not been aided by the succours furnished by Mons. Le-bret, intendant of the province. The convicts on quitting the galleys were without shoes, and almost naked, and these wants must be remedied before they could be expected to work. Besides, it was necessary to provide not only for their subsistence, but for that of the inhabitants both sick and in health, as well as to attend to the supply of various other objects wanted in the city. To all these things the intendant paid the most vigilant attention. Couriers were kept passing and repasing night and day for this purpose. Was he applied to for cloth to cover the mattresses, or straw to fill them, for shoes or other clothing for the convicts, for lime, horses, provisions, any thing in short that was wanted—he furnished it instantly. He provided also, with the greatest celerity, a supply of butchers and bakers as they failed, only under the promise of increased gains. It seemed as if he were present in all the places whence those things must be procured, or that he held in his hand every thing necessary to supply the wants of Marseilles. All these succours passed through the channel of Mons. Rigord, his sub-delegate in this city, who, spite of

his weak state of health, the multiplicity of his affairs, the danger of the contagion, or the mortality in his family, acted through the whole period of this calamity for the service of the king and that of the city, with a zeal and courage above his situation and strength. Too much acknowledgment cannot be made to these two gentlemen for the very important services they rendered us.

CHAP. XVI.

The king names a commandant.—New succours of physicians and surgeons.—Benefactions received.

BUT however vigilant were the magistrates, how ardent soever was the zeal with which they were now fired for the public service, it was not possible that they could long support such fatigues, or endure alone the whole weight of so arduous an administration. Roused too late from their apathy, they now felt severely how much more easy it is to prevent the approaches of a formidable enemy, than to combat him when he is arrived. Without guards, without soldiers, without servants, without any one to whom they can confide their orders, but obliged at once to order and execute themselves, they are consequently almost without authority. The removal of the dead bodies is not the only business that presses on those who preside at the head of affairs; they must also provide for the public wants, for the care of the sick, for the sustenance of the poor, and a thousand other things equally urgent and necessary. It is not enough to devise useful expedients, they are called on equally to provide for their execution. They must supervise the re-establishment of a regular

and salutary police, they must bring back abundance, recall the public officers who are absent, punish the malefactors, and restrain the licentiousness of a populace, ever ready to take all possible advantages of a public calamity. They must repress the rapacity of those who, by placing an extravagant price on their services, seek to establish their own fortunes on the necessities of their brethren ;—in one word, every thing must be placed on the footing requisite for the preservation of good order, which is the most essential of all things in a time of such emergency.

To accomplish services so important was not the lot of those in whose hands the chief command of the city had hitherto been placed ; they were destined to be achieved by the excellent commandant, who seemed at this critical moment to be sent us from Heaven. The king, informed of our deplorable situation, was pleased to appoint Mons. le Chevalier de Langeron, chef d'escadre of the galleys, temporary commandant of the city and territory of Marseilles ; upon which office he entered on the 12th of September, to the great satisfaction of the echevins, who were charged with notifying to him his appointment. This gentleman had established such excellent regulations on board the galleys, and they had been crowned with a success so happy, that every one now looked forward, under the auspices of so wise and

experienced a chief, to a like happy turn in the situation of the city.

In effect, on the very same day he repaired to the Hotel de Ville, to inform himself exactly of the state of affairs; and in a very short time acquired a knowledge of them so perfect, as to be able to establish all his new arrangements. Enough cannot be said of the philanthropy, the zeal, and benevolence shown on this occasion by this excellent man. To charge himself with the government of a city in the midst of one of the most dreadful contagions ever experienced in any age or nation, at a time when every thing was in the most frightful disorder, and he could not depend upon any one for the execution of his orders, except on magistrates, full indeed of zeal and good-will, but exhausted by cares and fatigues, where every thing necessary at such a time was wanting, demanded a courage and fortitude superior to all dangers, a genius above all events, and a zeal proof against the greatest trials and exertions.

He soon perceived, that the salvation of the city depended principally on three things: the establishment of a good police, the providing receptacles for the sick, and the prompt burial of the dead. Every day was marked by some new regulation or enterprise which tended to the one or the other of these points. For the first, he published an

ordonnance to recall all the public officers who had abandoned their posts. In the third, a considerable progress had been already made, as we have above related ; for the finishing it, he drew a fresh supply of convicts from the galleys, and appointed overseers to superintend them, who kept them with such exactitude to their work, that before many days were expired the bodies were regularly buried on the very day of their death.

But the graves were now all filled ; and it was difficult to find places to make new ones. Mons. de Langeron made a circuit to visit all the old ones, and, carrying his views far beyond the present moment, ordered them to be heaped further with earth and lime, to prevent the danger of exhalations arising, which might protract or renew the malady. At the same time, he marked out a new inclosure without the gate of Aix, ten toises long and fifteen broad, for making another grave ; and, to expedite the work, he ordered the commissaries of the territory to compel the immediate attendance of a hundred peasants for this purpose. The exactness with which his orders were executed, and the celerity with which the work was accomplished, soon proved clearly that the promptitude of the workmen depends more on the firmness and resolution of him who commands than on the good-will and industry of those who labour. On the 18th of September he ordered another to be

made on the opposite side of the road, without the same gate, of ten toises long and five broad ; and at the same time he ordered others in the quarter of St. Ferreol. The 22d of September another was begun in the garden of the Observantins of twenty-two toises long, eight broad, and fourteen feet deep, for the execution of which, a hundred and fifty peasants were summoned from the territory. All these works were executed with the utmost rapidity, under the inspection of Mons. de Soissan, an officer of the galleys, whom Mons. de Langeron had appointed as his aide-de-camp, and who seconded in every respect the zeal and courage of his chief.

The care of the sick no less occupied the attention and vigilance of the new commandant. It appeared to him a flagrant inconvenience, not to say a sort of barbarity, to leave them languishing as they had been in the streets and squares. The hospital of the Jeu-de-mail, begun in the month of August, was very little advanced, whether it were from the necessary tediousness of the work, or from the negligence of the surveyors, and idleness of the workmen—a gust of wind had even destroyed almost all that had been done. Mons. de Langeron summoned the carpenters and a number of Turks from the galleys, who soon repaired these damages, and proceeded rapidly with the work. Apartments were prepared for the

physician, surgeon, apothecary, and other officers for this hospital, in the convent of the reformed Augustins, which is close by, and in the neighbouring bastides; and graves were opened in the nearest spot possible. But since this establishment was by no means sufficient to contain all the sick, the commandant turned his attention to the Hospital of la Charité, which had been thought of at the commencement of the disease, but rejected. It appearing, however, to him to be one of the most desirable places in the city for this purpose, he immediately ordered it to be prepared; and since the Hotel Dieu was now empty, by the death of all the sick as well as the foundling children, he appointed this place for the reception of the poor from the Hospital of la Charité; and during the time necessary to purify the Hotel Dieu from the infection, the poor were placed in the infirmary. All these orders were so wisely given by the commandant, and so diligently executed by the echevins, that in a few days both the new hospitals were opened for the reception of the sick. Still those who remained in their own houses were in want of almost every thing, even of the most common remedies, such as ointments and plasters for their wounds. The apothecaries had exhausted their stores, the shops of the druggists were shut up, and the druggists themselves had retired into the country. Mons. de Langeron dispatched his

guards into the territory to bring them back : he summoned all the notaries too, who almost to a man had fled, to return back ; and the dying had now the power of making their wills, of which they had hitherto been deprived. He also recalled the midwives, the absence of whom had been the cause of the loss of many women in child-birth, with the children. All these people, afraid of refusing a commandant whose firmness awed them, returned immediately to their functions, and the state of the sick was soon inconceivably ameliorated.

But it was impossible for the echevins to attend to every thing. By an excess of zeal they had for a time occupied themselves in cares totally out of the sphere of their functions, which occasioned a relaxation in the usual course of affairs. As nothing escaped the attention of the commandant, to remedy this inconvenience he published an ordonnance on the 15th of September, commanding the intendants of health, and all the municipal officers, under severe pains and penalties, to return to their several posts within the space of twenty-four hours. This order was obeyed ; and the echevins were soon enabled to resume their ordinary functions. But Mons. de Langeron, as well for their private convenience as for the public good, which was always his first object, advised them to make a regular partition of

the business—in which they readily concurred. Mons. Estelle was charged with the current business, the correspondence, and the police—Mons. Audimar had the inspection of the butcheries—Mons. Diendé was charged with the superintendence of the corn, flour, bread and wood—and Mons. Moustier retained the post in which he had uniformly shown himself so vigilant, the removal of the dead bodies. All public business being thus put into a proper train, things soon assumed a different face.

There was still another very important object which demanded the attention of the commandant. It was not enough merely to have removed the bodies from the streets; it was necessary also to clear away the ordure, the infected clothes, and other effects with which they were obstructed. This was arrived at so great a height, that it was almost impossible to go on foot through the streets—it was necessary to go on horseback, to keep clear of the filth and infection which these things occasioned. Mons. Moustier undertook this work; and a number of convicts and carts were appointed for the carrying it on. In this he showed himself no less vigilant than in the removal of the bodies; so that in a few days all was cleared away, and the passage of the streets was left perfectly free. An order was at the same time given to the prud'hommes, who

are the chiefs of the fishermen, to drag with their nets into the open sea the number of dead dogs that floated in the port, and exhaled an insupportable odour:—an order which was instantly executed.

While the commandant laboured thus successfully to ameliorate the situation of the city, his royal highness the regent, who was deeply interested by the misfortunes with which we were afflicted, gave orders for the remission of a certain sum every month for procuring a supply of meat ; and commissioned at the same time the intendants of the other provinces to furnish Marseilles with all the succours that depended upon them. Mons. de Bernage, intendant of Languedoc, had sent to Aix, Mons. Pons, a physician of Pesenas, and Mons. Bouthillier, a physician practising at Montpellier, with Messrs. Moutet and Rabason, surgeons of the same city. The first demanded 6000 livres* per month during his stay at Marseilles, with a pension of 3000 livres per annum during his own life and that of his wife and children. The second only required 1000 livres per month, and an annual pension of the same sum ; and the surgeons required 3000 livres per month, besides all their expenses during their stay in the

* A thousand livres is about forty guineas. It was, then, the immoderate sum of 240 guineas per month that this physician demanded !

city, and the expenses of their journeys. It was now seen what a price must be given for foreign medical aid in the time of a contagion ; and the magistrates learned how much they ought to have considered the city as indebted to its own physicians for the generous manner in which they had devoted themselves gratuitously to the public service.

The necessity of the case was such, however, that there was no choice but to comply with these demands ; and the contracts being passed at Aix, Mons. Bouthillier arrived at Marseilles on the 10th of September, and Mons. Pons on the 14th ; when they entered on their office of visiting the sick with great zeal and alacrity. Messrs. Chicoyneau and Verny, who from the time of their first journey to Marseilles had remained in quarantine at Aix, at the same time received orders from the court to repair again to Marseilles. The same order was likewise given to Mons. Deidier, professor of physic at Montpellier, and Mons. Fiobesse, a master-surgeon of the same place. These latter joined Messrs. Chicoyneau, Verny, and Souliers at Aix, whence Mons. Deidier wrote a circular letter to the physicians at Marseilles, recommending to bleed the sick even till they fainted away ; presuming that this malady arose entirely from gangrenous inflammations.---Was it to be sup-

posed that one who had not yet seen the sick was very well qualified to give advice to the physicians for their treatment? Lest I should be supposed to misrepresent this affair, and to ascribe to the professor, without sufficient foundation, an opinion and advice so extraordinary, I subjoin a copy of his letter.

Aix, the — Sept. 1720.

“ Is it true, Sir, that besides the cruel malady which afflicts your city, the lower people are overwhelmed with famine, and in a state of sedition? — If this be so, how can you exercise your profession? — Will you be so obliging as to give me particular information on this subject, that I may know exactly on what I have to calculate? I wish also to be informed what are the remedies you have essayed, and their success. --- Have you tried, as Sydenham recommends, first to lower the sick extremely by copious bleedings? --- And do not you think it would be advisable to try first bleeding in the foot, even till the patient faint away, giving afterwards a gentle cardiac? --- The sudden deaths in the present case can only arise from a too great fullness of the internal viscera, which brings on gangrenous inflammations. Thus, without regarding the accidents of the disease, or even the state of the pulse, it were desirable to make some trials of this mode of bleeding. Be so good

as to inform me how far this method of treatment appears to be successful ; and believe me always, with the greatest sincerity,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DEIDIER."

It will easily be imagined of how much use to the physicians of Marseilles was this advice of the professor. He will soon be seen changing his opinion himself, when he visits the sick. In the mean time, let us leave the connoisseurs to determine in what cases bleeding may or may not be useful, and to distinguish internal inflammations, which demand it, from those in which it is altogether useless, not to say pernicious. Three other physicians were sent from Paris, Mons. Maille, professor of physic of Cahors, Mons. Labadie of Bannieres, and Mons. Boyer of Marseilles, who were by chance all three at that time in the capital. They were, in fact, very young ; but it was believed, and with reason, that their genius, and the instruction they had received from Mons. Chirac, would supply the want of experience. Besides, this malady being new, the old physicians had no more experience in it than the young. Three master-surgeons were also sent from Paris, with a number of assistants and apprentices ; and many others came from the provincial towns, in-

duced by the printed invitations which the echevins had circulated. These all arrived between the 18th and 20th of September, in sufficient time to evince their zeal and courage, and to be of great assistance to the sick. It was no small embarrassment for the echevins to find them lodgings, and furnish them with a table and other necessities. They were placed in the best houses in the Rue St. Ferreol, which was the most healthy and the cleanest quarter of the city : servants were provided for them, a cook and a purveyor, and their table was established on a very magnificent footing. Too much could not be done for persons who devoted themselves at the hazard of their own lives for the succour of the city. They all visited the sick occasionally during the remainder of the month of September, but they were not put into a regular train of attendance till the beginning of October.

Among so many skilful physicians, and able surgeons, shall we confound a certain Mons. Varin, who being neither the one nor the other, but merely a sort of quack, yet gave himself out for both ? Sent from Paris, he arrived at Marscilles very soon after the others, accompanied by his wife and a nephew. They were all three placed by the echevins in one of the best hotels, their lodging and board were paid, and they were permitted to administer their specific ;---a permission which gave them much

more satisfaction than all the other attentions they received. They boasted that they had been employed in the plague at Hamburgh and other cities of Germany. They went all three to visit the sick ; and it was not one of the least curious spectacles which this extraordinary time presented, to see a woman laying aside the timidity natural to her sex, and entering courageously the most infected houses. The only remedy these associates employed was a sort of elixir, which they sold at twenty livres the bottle. The mere idea of a specific against a disease which they greatly fear, is sufficient at any time to heat the imaginations of a large majority of the people, and to make them eagerly seek the remedy : and these empirics gave an extraordinary degree of credit to theirs by what they exhibited in their own persons, since they ascribed to the use of this alone the confidence with which they ventured to approach the sick. They pretended even that they owed their appearance of health, and the embonpoint on which they so much prided themselves, solely to the specific. It was well known, however, in the end, that they made frequent use of a specific much more efficacious and agreeable. The *Sieur Varin* at first obtained a great degree of credit with the magistrates, and was placed by them on an equal footing with the regular physicians and surgeons ; he was even preferred to them by many

persons of the first consideration among the sick. Novelties in medicine, as in every thing else, please for a time, but they have also commonly the same fate—that their fall is as rapid as their rise. Such was the fate of the remedy in question : its inefficacy became in a short time too obvious not to occasion its general rejection, and the condemnation alike of that and of the ridiculous vanity of those by whom it was distributed.

So ample a supply of medical aid was not the only succour which Providence was pleased at this time to send to our afflicted city. A great number of persons of property had already remitted to the pastors of the parishes, to the confessors and other persons who had the courage to undertake the distribution of them, considerable sums for the use of the poor. Money was in like manner sent from many other towns in the kingdom. Our pious and benevolent bishop continued his daily alms,—though now without any train, without any other followers than a crowd of poor, for the most part still languishing with the disease, the faithful witnesses of a zeal and courage almost without parallel. His treasures were almost exhausted, and himself left nearly without necessities ; yet he remained the principal support of whole families, reduced by their misfortunes to the last extremity : by the most obliging offers he prevented the wants of others whom he knew to be

in danger of like sufferings, and consoled by letters full of sentiments of the utmost piety, benevolence and sympathy, those whose situations placed them above the want of his alms:—I had myself the consolation of receiving one during my sickness. In short, his charity seemed constantly to dilate in proportion as the objects multiplied.

In aid of his own, he now received large supplies from the benevolence of the greatest part of the prelates in the kingdom, both from their private purses and from collections which they made in their respective dioceses. True charity is not bounded by the relief of the immediate objects which surround it; all the necessitous, wherever they are to be found, alike partake of it. The cries of our miseries made themselves heard even by those, the elevation of whose rank, and the multiplicity of whose affairs, seemed to place them out of their reach. Mons. Laun sent 100,000 livres to the echevins for the use of the poor; and above all, the sovereign pontiff, deeply affected with the misfortunes of a people who had uniformly adhered to the true faith, and whose pastor was so dear to him for his zeal, his piety, and all those virtues which exalted in his person the dignity of the episcopal character—the sovereign pontiff opened in our behalf both his own private treasury and that of the church. He addressed to the bishop a bull containing indulgences to all who

should devote themselves for the service of the sick, and added to these spiritual favours the temporal succour of 3000 charges of corn to be distributed among the poor of Marseilles. A worthy example of care and solicitude for his flock in the common father of all the faithful*.

But the contagion, meanwhile, continued its ravages during the whole month of September; or if towards the end of that month it seemed somewhat to abate in its fury, it was because there was so little left to devour. Families were already thinned to a frightful degree; the greatest part of the houses were deserted; and where the families remained in them, terrified and depressed by the misfortunes and horrors they had witnessed, they shut themselves up closely, afraid to breathe an air so infected. The few persons to be seen in the streets were chiefly those who, having had the disease, were now upon the recovery, and were obliged to go out to provide themselves with necessaries. These were all miserable objects, supporting their languid limbs, which they were scarcely able to drag along, with a great stick, with faces pale and disfigured, crawling slowly on, and obliged at every moment to stop and rest awhile. This was another change of scene in the city scarcely less deplorable than the former. As

* The brief, &c. which the pope sent on this subject will be found in the Appendix, No. IV.

these unfortunate sufferers met in their walks, one lamented to his neighbour that he alone remained of a numerous family—this mourned the loss of his father and mother, that of all his children—each strives to excite the sympathy of the other by the relation of his particular sorrows, scarcely (in the desolate state in which he is left) finding consolation in the reflection that he himself had escaped.

A very fortunate prepossession had insinuated itself at this time into the minds of the people, That those who had once had the disease and recovered from it were incapable of taking it a second time. In the sequel we will speak further on this subject; suffice it at present to say, that this idea procured a great deal of additional succour to the sick; since those who had once passed through the disease, as soon as they regained sufficient strength, devoted themselves freely to the care of their still suffering brethren. It is true they did not do this gratis; but who will not gladly pay for succour on such an occasion? It was much to be able to procure it at any price: the time had been when it was not even to be purchased.

These various succours roused up the sinking courage of the people, re-animated the public confidence, and raised the spirits of the sick, who did not find themselves now in a state altogether

so desolate and abandoned. Thus finished, with the month of September, the second period of this dreadful malady, marked by such cruel desolations among families, and such a frightful mortality through all the city.

CHAP. XVII.

Third period of the plague.—The hospitals are opened.

ALTHOUGH the plague must rather be considered as a particular chastizement exercised by an angry God over a sinful and offending people, than as a calamity proceeding from common and natural causes, and that consequently it is little subject to the remedies pursued in the case of ordinary maladies; yet it cannot be denied that the establishment of good order and a severe police greatly arrests its progress, diminishes its ravages, and accelerates its termination. The truth of this latter position will be sufficiently evinced by what happened at Marseilles during the third period of the calamity of which we treat, and which includes the months of October and November,

The city, freed from those objects of horror with which the streets had been so long obstructed, now began to assume a new face. Public business resumed in some measure its usual course, many shops which had long been shut up were opened, the sick had all possible assistance given them, and nothing was to be desired but the preservation of that regularity and good order which

was now so happily established. For this it was requisite to possess a firmness of character both in giving orders and attending to their execution, above all complaisance and all respect of persons, an integrity proof against all solicitations and prayers, a continual attention to avoid all surprise, and a mind constantly on its guard against all prejudice and prepossession. It was necessary to oppose to that spirit of anarchy and licentiousness into which the city had been suffered to fall, a strictness of arrangement suitable to the exigency of affairs ; to maintain in the place of that disorder, the effects of which had been so tragic, a perfect discipline in every department of the public service ; in short, to oppose to a license without bounds, a mixture of mildness and severity capable of making itself at once feared and loved. Such was the character of Mons. de Langeron, and such was the conduct he uniformly observed. He never knew any rule of action but the public good ; all his ordonnances were founded in equity and justice, nor had they any other object in view but the welfare and salvation of the country. By this means, persons of all ranks, convinced of his resolution, and seeing that he would not be disobeyed, convinced also of the solidity of his judgment, the wisdom of his regulations, and the integrity of his intentions, submitted peaceably and implicitly to him. The intendants of health re-

turned and resumed their stations at the head of the infirmary ; the municipal officers resumed their functions ; the directors of the hospitals their respective charges, and the commissaries returned to their different quarters. The inferior officers, ashamed of concealing themselves when they saw a commander show himself boldly every where, now followed his example. His courage re-assures that of all his fellow-citizens, his intrepidity in braving the perils of the contagion emboldens the most timid, his zeal for the public good inspires others with a like emulation. He seems to be familiarised with the malady, his house is open to every one, while so many others are shut up ; he suffers all without distinction or discrimination to approach him, even those who in the eyes of the majority were considered as the most formidable, I mean the physicians and surgeons, as well as those who were employed in the hospitals. He seemed to have a charm about him which repelled the shafts of the contagion.

The troops which had long been expected to guard the city arrived on the 3d of October. A camp was appointed for them at the convent of the Chartreux, a very short distance without the city. The pious solitaires of this house made no difficulty of sacrificing for a time to the public good the usual repose and tranquillity of their silent retreat. Lodgings were assigned to the officers in the

neighbouring bastides. It was now essential to provide the camp with all necessaries; and in this Mons. Rigord, the sub-delegate of the intendant, observed his usual zeal and alacrity. He immediately put every thing in train, so that in a few days the camp was abundantly supplied with many conveniences wanted in the city. A detachment was selected from among the soldiers to guard the different gates of the city, by which the entrance of all vagabonds and people from the country was prevented. This precaution was the more necessary, since, the malady being still in its utmost vigour in the territory, it was much to be feared that, in the hope of being more in the way of assistance, many persons might flock from thence, and increase again the number of sick in the town.

The two hospitals were at length finished, and opened on the fourth of October. The direction of that of La Charité was given to the rectors of the Hotel Dieu, which having been entirely vacated by the death of all the sick was now shut up. Messrs. Robert and Bouthillier were placed there as physicians, with a proper assistance of surgeons from among those newly arrived, and an apothecary of the city. Servants were provided for the physicians and surgeons, and all officers requisite for the hospital were appointed. The same was done in the hospital of the Jeu-de-Mail, the

direction of which was given to two principal merchants of the city, who distinguished themselves particularly in this post. Mons. Pons and a Mons. Guilhermin were placed there as physicians. This latter was lately arrived from Boulene, a little town in the Comtat, whence he came to offer his services to Marseilles. But he remained not long in his post; a sudden death soon gave him cause to repent taking such a journey only to expose himself voluntarily to a danger which he perhaps did not believe to be so pressing. Mons. Audon, a physician of the city, succeeded to his place, and shared his unhappy fate.

Let me here be permitted a word of digression, to vindicate this latter gentleman from the serious aspersions cast upon him on the one hand, and the pleasantries to which they gave rise on the other. Though young, the greatest hopes and expectations had been formed of him, from his talents and application to his studies. He was much attached to his profession, and no one ever had it more at heart to rise to eminence in it. Having been called in to visit a young girl, who from motives of modesty would not suffer him to approach or examine her, he touched the upper part of the thigh with the end of his cane to judge by the impression it seemed to make on her whether she had any tumour or not. This gave occasion to some would-be wits, to spread a report

about the town that he felt the pulse of the sick with the end of his cane. His unhappy end sufficiently refuted these idle jokes, and showed that he had not always kept the patients at his cane's length, but had approached them much nearer.

A crowd of sick were now carried to the two hospitals, where they found every comfort and assistance their situation required: nothing could exceed the attention shown in every respect by the physicians, surgeons, and other officers to the duties of their respective functions. No longer were any miserable objects seen languishing in the streets or squares; they went for the most part voluntarily to the hospitals as soon as they found themselves affected, assured of receiving every possible comfort and attention. Thus the city was left perfectly free and wholesome. It remained only to provide for the attendance of the few who preferred continuing in their own houses; and for this purpose the remaining physicians and surgeons were distributed among the different quarters of the city. The direction of every thing which concerned the medical aid of the sick was allotted to Mons. Chycoineau—a distinction due both to his rank and merit. The direction of the surgical department was given to Messrs. Soulliers and Nelatton, who both acquitted themselves of their charge to the perfect satisfaction of their employers. Things being thus so

well arranged, human prudence could do no more to put an end to the contagion ; to the mercy of Heaven alone could we look for the rest. But the wrath of God was not yet appeased, nor his justice satisfied. The numbers which fell by the contagion visibly decreased ; but the disease, when it attacked, seemed to have lost nothing of its virulence and malignity.

The foreign physicians tried by turns different methods of treatment ; sometimes repeated bleedings, sometimes violent emetics ; one day purgatives and laxative diet-drinks, another volatiles and the strongest cordials in repeated and increasing doses. They made essay of various remedies sent from Paris and other places ; but the malady still mocked their efforts, and forced them to own that it was above the reach of art. The patients died now under their hands as they had died without them, and they began to change entirely their ideas of the malady. The grand idea of gangrenous inflammations was given up, the ill success of the copious bleedings proving plainly that the internal inflammations are rather symptoms produced by the malady, than its cause ; and the fatal effects of purgatives and laxative diet-drinks afforded an irresistible proof that this is not one of those common malignant fevers, for which they had given such admirable instructions. In short, they were obliged to own that it was a very diffe-

rent malady from what they had conceived, and that it was really and truly the plague.

We will not push any further reasonings which may perhaps be said to come with an ill grace from such a quarter, and to be out of our sphere ; but we cannot forbear observing, that these gentlemen had perhaps done better to spare themselves the pain and disappointment of making so many useless experiments, and the sick the chagrin of incurring all the danger to which an improper method of treatment exposed them, by conferring beforehand with the physicians of the city on the nature of a malady which they had followed minutely in its rise, its progress, and through every stage, and on the nature of which they had decidedly pronounced even from its commencement, the event justifying in a fatal manner their opinion. But this was a thing they never would condescend to do. The foreign surgeons also made many experiments on the disease in the exterior treatment of it. Some tried the eradication of the knots ; others contented themselves with deep incisions and profound scarifications ; but all with little success : many patients expired through the excessive hæmorrhage occasioned by these wounds—a hæmorrhage which was without parallel. In the sequel the surgeons corrected these errors, and laboured with a happier success to the sick and more honour to themselves.

It can scarcely be conceived what was meant by the author of the Marseilles Journal, when, after having announced the arrival of these foreign physicians in the city, he adds:—"Till this time the plague had been treated as the plague; and the sick easily judged of the danger and horror of their malady by the manner in which the physicians visited them. The chancellor of the university of Montpellier, Mons. Chycoineau, Mons. Verny, and Mons. Deidier, on the contrary, gave them reason to believe, that nothing could be more common and less dangerous than their malady. They approached the sick without fear, without repugnance, without precaution. They even sat down upon their beds, touching their tumours, and remaining there with the utmost composure for as long a time as was necessary to inform themselves perfectly of their situation, and the progress of the malady, and to see the operations they ordered performed by the surgeons."

Nothing is here cited which had not been done by the physicians of the city long before the arrival of these foreign professors. This we have already sufficiently noticed; but the author of the article cannot dispense with himself from entering into the prejudices of those to whom he sought to pay his court. He might, however, have offered his incense in a manner less marked—a complaisance ill-understood ought not to have influenced him

to such a degree, as to prevent his rendering to his fellow-citizens the justice he owed them. But let us not pursue this subject further—he speaks more *à-propos* than he is perhaps aware of when he says, that “*the plague had been hitherto treated as the plague.*”

When we observe that in the third period the disease still showed the same violence, this must be understood with some restrictions ; for even in the beginning of this period, some who were attacked had the disease very slightly, and suffered only a few days of fever without tumours, or other exterior marks of the disease—others again, though the disorder was slight, had some eruption, but it soon died away, or, by a happy suppuration, spared the patient the pain of incision. These had no occasion for the attendance of a physician or surgeon, nor to have recourse to physic. Nature, stronger than the latter, and wiser than the former, undertook the cure herself, and had all the honour of it.

Hitherto the quarter of St. Ferreol had almost escaped the disease. The streets are wide, the houses large, and inhabited chiefly by persons in a state of opulence ; and such are always the last attacked by a contagion, on account of the means they have to place themselves out of its reach. But in the third period, when the violence of the malady was abated in all other parts of the city, it was

at the worst here. If, however, the inhabitants of this quarter were doomed not to escape the common calamity, they at least had the happiness of not being afflicted with it till the time when they could have all desirable succour. They had physicians and surgeons to attend upon them, persons recovered from the disease to nurse them, and confessors to administer spiritual aid. But in general, from the commencement of the third period the contagion may be said to have been constantly in a state of decrease, observing in its declension nearly the same proportions as in rising to its greatest height.

This calm, after a while, began somewhat to revive the spirits of those who had remained shut up in their houses. Devoured with ennui at so long a confinement, towards the middle of October they ventured again at times into the streets. But this was done with a caution and reserve that showed they were yet far from feeling a perfect confidence in the safety of such a step. If, perchance, two acquaintances met, far from flying to embrace each other, as should seem natural after such a separation and having escaped such a danger, they spoke at a distance, and, exchanging only a hasty compliment on the occasion, passed on as if in fear lest a word might communicate the infection. This too was confined to the men, for the women did not yet show even so much

courage, they still remained shut up as before. Our adventurers further carried poles of eight or ten feet long, which obtained the name of *batons de St. Roch**, and with these they kept at a distance all who passed, for fear of being touched—above all, they kept away the dogs, who, since the idea that they could imbibe the contagion, had been considered as a very formidable class of beings. Nothing could indeed be more comic than to see persons thus walking with these long poles in their hands. They might easily have been mistaken for voyagers just landed after having experienced inexpressible hardships and fatigues. Their paleness, the impression of fear and inquietude in their countenances, the negligence of their dress, the length of their beards, all contributed to give them this appearance.

It was yet more striking to see the inhabitants of the country, who now also began to venture on taking occasionally a turn into the city, some through curiosity, others from the pressure of their wants. They were hale and healthy, burned with the sun, with legs firm and robust, yet still supported by an immense stick, and gaping with consternation at beholding the city so changed,

* St. Roch is the saint who more particularly intercedes with Heaven in behalf of towns afflicted with the plague—hence it was that these poles were called *batons*, (i. e. sticks) of St. Roch.

and wearing such a sorrowful aspect of silence and solitude. And if, unable wholly to restrain the desire of communicating with each other, on the sad impressions each had received, they collected three or four together in a circle, they cautiously kept each other with their sticks at the distance of five or six feet. The sad events of the contagion were then the theme of conversation; each reported the different scenes and sorrows he had witnessed, and the assembly ended finally in exchanging reciprocal congratulations that they still lived to talk over their disasters. Towards the end of October the contagion seemed suddenly to stop; and five or six days together passed without any fresh person being attacked. We will avail ourselves of this calm to relate some curious events which occurred during that time.

CHAP. XVIII.

Revelation asserted to have been given to a young female devotee.—The canons of the church of St. Martin dispossessed of their benefices.

ALTHOUGH the public calamities with which God afflicts a city be an effect of his general anger against the inhabitants, some person or persons particularly worthy of his protection are commonly found, whom he distinguishes from the rest by eminent and unequivocal marks of his favour. Examples of this kind in the holy Scriptures are too numerous, and too familiar to all persons, to render it necessary to notice them here; it is sufficient to observe, that he has acted in the same manner in all ages and nations; and we have no instance on record of any public desolation in which he has not signalized himself by some particular intervention. These marks of his grace are commonly communicated through the medium of those pious characters whose souls are wholly devoted to him;—it is through them that he deigns to issue his sovereign mandates, and manifest his supreme will to mortals. We must not, then, always regard the revelations which persons of piety assure us they have re-

ceived, as the mere visions of a heated imagination. We have only to examine and distinguish cautiously between those which there is reason to believe real, and a manifestation of the divine favour given in recompense of a sincere and solid piety, from such as are evidently the effect of designed imposture, or the effusions of an overheated enthusiasm. I know not whether the revelation which, during the period in question, a young female devotee, who had always been distinguished for her piety, declared she had received, be of the former or of the latter description : but be that as it may, we have judged it proper, as forming a curious part of the history of this awful epoch, to assign it a place in our narrative, together with the proceedings to which it gave occasion.

This girl, being attacked with the malady, communicated the revelation in question to her confessor a very short time before her death, with the strongest asseverations of its truth. The confessor was a monk of the order of Observantins, extremely respectable both for his piety and talents. He had at various times put the virtue of his penitent to the strongest proofs, and declared that he firmly believed her to have been favoured with frequent apparitions of the Holy Virgin. From the beginning of the contagion she had predicted many things which, as public report says, had been verified by the events. I give this fact, however,

on no other authority than public report—I do not by any means pledge myself for its truth. What is certain is, that, drawing near her last moments, she declared to her confessor that she had seen the Holy Virgin in a vision, who assured her, that the present scourge which afflicted Marseilles would not cease, till the two churches of the cathedral and St. Victor, united in a general procession, should expose all their reliques to the view of the faithful. The confessor immediately communicated this revelation to the most reverend the lord bishop, who, always eager to embrace any means offered for appeasing the anger of Heaven, judged it expedient not to neglect one which seemed presented by Heaven itself. He well knew in what high veneration these pious reliques were held by the people of Marseilles; and he considered the known probity of the confessor as a sufficient assurance that he would not seek to impose on the credulity of any one, and his discernment as a safeguard against being imposed upon himself.

In this idea he delayed not to impart what had passed to the abbé of St. Victor, in a letter written on the 12th of September, expressing in the strongest terms his desire to comply with what was recommended by the revelation, adding, that this union of the two churches assuredly was intended as a symbol of that of the sinners with

God*. He asked the opinion of the abbé on the subject of the procession, and concluded with saying, that if the idea should meet with his approbation, he conceived means might be found to obviate the difficulties which the circumstances of the time seemed to oppose, to collecting together so numerous an assembly of the people.

This letter was immediately communicated by the abbé to his chapter; and these gentlemen having all, in conjunction with him, examined thoroughly into the affair, were unanimously of opinion that the truth of the revelation was not sufficiently established to authorise a belief in it, or influence the parties concerned to comply with the thing proposed, especially considering the hazard that must attend it. This decision was remitted to the lord bishop, the abbé adding, that he begged his lordship to be assured it was doubts alone of the truth of the revelation which prevented the chapter of St. Victor complying with his wishes. Could they be convinced of its authenticity, and that the procession would produce the happy effect expected, their anxiety for the public welfare, of which no one could doubt, would make them pass over all other considerations, to unite in any plan for promoting the consolation and happiness of the city.

* Quere?—Which of the two churches did his lordship intend as representing the *sinners* on this occasion?

But the revelation was a thing too much calculated to make a strong impression on the minds of the people not to become a subject of universal discussion ; and thus the rumour of it spread far and wide, till at length it reached the ears of the echevins. These magistrates, unwilling to neglect any thing which seemed to offer the shadow of a hope of putting an end to the public calamity, deliberated among themselves to present a request to the chapters of the cathedral and St. Victor, praying them to unite in satisfying the devotion of the people, always ardent in the observance of the external offices of religion. The chapter of St. Victor hearing of this intention, and desirous to anticipate its execution, addressed the following letter to the commandant, in which are exposed, with the utmost force and elegance, their reasons for the conduct they had judged it proper to observe ;

“ SIR,

“ Our chapter having been informed that it is the intention of the echevins to request them to unite with the chapter of the cathedral in a procession, in which our reliques shall be conjointly exposed, for the purpose of averting the anger of Heaven, and delivering Marseilles from the scourge with which she is now afflicted, we have judged it proper to represent to you, sir, to whom the supreme authority in this city has been delegated,

with no less justice than good effect to the public, that this procession having for its object the general welfare, we should not hesitate one moment to unite in it, were the principle on which it is demanded satisfactory, and could we be assured that no consequences dangerous to religion were to be apprehended from it. But the doubts to be entertained on both these points afford, in our opinions, just reason to oppose its execution.

“ The circumstance to which the idea of this procession owes its origin, was communicated to us a fortnight ago, in a letter from my lord bishop to our abbé.—A girl, exemplary for her piety, had, according to report, seen the Holy Virgin in a vision, who assured her, that the present calamity would not cease till the two principal churches, united in procession, should expose their holy reliques to the view of the faithful. This vision she communicated, during the sickness of which she died, to her confessor, father ——, of the order of Observantins; who, as the faithful depositary of her mission, imparted it immediately to my lord bishop; while the latter, in his turn, did us the honour of communicating it to us, and consulting us on the expediency of the thing proposed.

“ This letter of Mons. de Marseilles being laid before our chapter, we were all unanimously of opinion, that credence should not be given too

lightly to a vision in which nothing appeared that seemed to impress it with the stamp of respectability; consequently we could not acquiesce in the idea of the procession taking place. In this sentiment and this conduct we are authorised by the apostle, who warns us not to believe too hastily in pretended inspirations, nor to be deluded by specious appearances of piety. Are we not enjoined, before we think of executing what is said to be the will of God manifested through the medium of pious souls, to be well assured that it is a genuine manifestation, by the prayers of the principal ministers of the Lord for illumination on the subject, and by the most minute investigation and fullest proof to be obtained by human means? Such has been the constant usage of the church on like occasions, and its annals furnish us with no example of this nature, which does not tend to inspire us with the utmost caution and circumspection in lending our faith to like assertions. A too hasty belief on such occasions is even dangerous to religion, since it is rendered by this means liable to be frequently imposed upon by pretended divine communications; which, failing of the end proposed, give a prodigious advantage to the enemies of the church, ever on the watch to turn its pious ceremonies and practices into ridicule. Is it not, then, much to be feared, as there is no small number of persons of this description in the city, that,

if the procession, the principle of which must be well known, should fail of producing a happy effect, this should prove to them at once a subject for turning all religion into contempt and derision, as well as a reason for fortifying themselves in their own obstinate incredulity?—May it not, besides, be a means of shaking the faith of many among our now most zealous adherents? If what passed some years since in the church of the Observantins in this city * be recollected, these fears will appear not ill-founded; and our hesitation in granting our ministry to an act of religion which rests on so tottering a foundation, will be fully justified.

“ But, as a still further justification of our conduct, let it be permitted us to observe, that we cannot without the utmost astonishment see magistrates, anxious to stop the progress of the calamity that afflicts us, propose, at a time when it is already so widely spread, to perform a ceremony which must evidently endanger its further augmentation. On consulting our registers, we do not find that our fathers, in the different times of contagion which have so often lamentably afflicted the city, ever sought to appease the anger of Heaven by this act of religion. They saw plainly that it could not be put in practice without the

* I have not been able to learn to what this passage alludes.

utmost danger, not only to the ministers of the Lord, but equally to that of the people at large, in mingling all kinds of persons indiscriminately together; for it must reasonably be supposed, that among these would be many tainted with the infection, which would thus be communicated to numbers of their fellow-citizens who might otherwise escape it. We have too high an opinion of the wisdom of the magistrates of our days to believe that, when these things are suggested, they can persist in wishing to deviate from the route their forefathers pursued, seeing that this cannot be done with safety; or, if they could be desirous of running so great a hazard, we are persuaded that you, sir, who are so justly invested with the supreme authority, will interpose to turn them aside from their intentions.

“ If our registers do not furnish us any example to authorise the procession in question, faithful annals report one which merits attention, and may well serve as a model to regulate our conduct on the present occasion. We are told, that St. Theodore, bishop of Marseilles, in a like calamity, being charged as a missionary of the faith and piety of his flock towards our holy reliques, far from asking, or even wishing that they should be exposed to the eyes of the faithful in a procession, came himself to the monastery to discharge the trust confided to him. There did he

pass whole days and nights in prayers and fastings, in tears and groans, till the Lord was melted towards the people, and delivered them from their affliction. This example, attested by Gregory of Tours, instructs us in what we ought to do. If the people have at this moment the same confidence in our holy reliques, we shall consider it as our duty to satisfy it, and will expose them on a day appointed before the door of our church, celebrating at the same time on the altar on which they shall be placed, the holy office of the mass to their honour, and to claim their intercession for us with the Lord. And if it please the God of mercy to be touched with so powerful a mediation, we will proceed through all the city singing his praises, and publishing the wondrous works of his saints.

“ It appears to us, sir, that such a proceeding will be much more conformable to the dictates of true wisdom, than joining in the procession in question, since we not only by this means adhere to the usual practices of the church, but we place religion much more out of the reach of jests and scoffs. We propose it, then, with confidence, persuaded that the superiority of your judgment will ensure its approbation, in a juncture which demands the utmost prudence and caution. With respect to the procession, we earnestly pray you, sir, to lend the strictest attention to the reasons

we have thought it our duty to expose for declining it, and to extend your consideration to the pain we must suffer in joining in a like ceremony instituted upon a principle so unstable, and which may not only be attended with consequences very injurious to religion, but must even lead almost inevitably to increasing the evil it is intended to remove.

“ We have the honour to be,

“ With the utmost respect, &c.”

St. Victor, Marseilles,

Sept. 27, 1720.

Scarcely was this letter dispatched, when Mons. Estelle, one of the echevins, accompanied by the chevalier Rose, arrived at the abbey to pray the chapter to consent to the procession. To this request the canons opposed the same reasons as they had urged in their letter to the commandant; but the echevins not appearing to assent to the justice of them, the gentlemen were obliged to have recourse to others. They represented that it would be difficult to regulate the order of the procession so as not to intrrench on their rights and privileges—that the frequent contests in which they had been involved with the chapter of the cathedral would not permit their uniting together in public ceremonies—that they were accustomed to appear in processions with certain marks of distinction

and independence, which the chapter of the cathedral would suffer with impatience, but in which it would be impossible for them to relax ;—in short, they said, before it could be possible for them to consent to the thing desired, arrangements must be made to regulate the order that should be observed in the junction of the two churches, no less for the preservation of their respective rights, than to avoid the scandal it would occasion should any contest arise after the procession had been resolved on.

These new difficulties made a stronger impression than the former on the mind of Mons. Estelle: he nevertheless began to devise expedients to obviate them. He proposed that the two churches should be united together in the place before the Hotel de Ville, where two altars should be erected, on which each church might separately expose its reliques. This idea was favourably received by the chapter of St. Victor, inasmuch as it preserved their rights entire, and that the same order had been practised on other occasions. Nothing therefore remained, but to obtain the bishop's consent to the plan ; and with this mission Mons. Estelle charged himself, the chapter giving him their word not to retract, provided his Lordship's consent should be obtained.

I know not by what means it happened that the letter of the chapter of St. Victor to Mons. de

Langeron was not placed in the hands of the latter till some days after it had been dispatched. He entered warmly into the reasonings of the canons, and communicated them to the echevins, who, not attending to the date of the letter, regarded it as a breach of faith on the part of the chapter. Mons. Estelle, in consequence, went in haste a second time to the abbey, to complain of this supposed insult. The affair was soon, however, arranged, on its being explained to the perfect satisfaction of the magistrate, that the date of the letter was anterior to his first visit, and to the engagement that had been made by the chapter. Having justified themselves in the eyes of Mons. Estelle, the canons renewed their promise of complying with his plan, should it be approved by the bishop ; but at the same time they advertised him, that by a letter which his Lordship had written two days before to their abbé, it was plain he would not consent to the union in the manner proposed. He would insist that one altar only should be erected for the joint exposition of the reliques, with a throne on the right hand for him, and an arm-chair only on the left for the abbé ; and that his Lordship alone should perform the mass, at the conclusion of which, and before giving his benediction to the people, the abbé should salute him.

To this order the abbé of St. Victor said he

could by no means consent; being himself a bishop*, and one of the most antient of the kingdom, he had a claim to other distinctions, and considered himself as entitled to divide the functions of the ceremony with Mons. de Marseilles, while the chapter, totally independent of the bishop of Marseilles, could not submit to such an act of jurisdiction as the latter pretended to exercise over them, whereby a dangerous precedent might be established for the future. Mons. Estelle owned that it would be difficult to prevail on my lord bishop to divide the functions of the ceremony with the abbé, and pressed both him and the chapter to desist from their pretensions, from regard for the public good, adding, that he greatly feared the effects which a refusal of this ceremony might draw upon all parties, from the indignation of the people. These reasons did not shake the constancy of the gentlemen of St. Victor; but to testify their sincere desire to concur in some plan for the common good, they proposed new ideas for the desired reunion.

These were to erect one altar only before the Hotel de Ville, where one priest alone, not belonging to either of the churches, might celebrate the mass, in which each church, one after the other, should make its respective prayers;—or, if it were desired, they consented that there should

* He was bishop of Condom.

be two priests, both strangers. They prayed Mons. Estelle to propose these expedients to Mons. de Marseilles :—this the echevin promised to do, and to support them to the utmost of his power. To assure themselves more strongly of the justice of their propositions, the chapter of St. Victor searched their registers, where they found that the same thing had been practised on other occasions. They immediately took extracts of these precedents, which they sent to the lord bishop and to the echevins, praying them to conform themselves to their ideas. The answer of the latter gentlemen was conceived in terms somewhat angry, and they again threatened the chapter of St. Victor with the most terrible effects of popular fury, if they would not relax in their pretensions. The chapter, extremely sensible to a treatment which they did not consider themselves as having merited, and so contrary to the sentiments of union and conciliation they had manifested, sent a deputation of three of their body to the commandant, to represent to him the very disagreeable predicament in which they were placed, that they must either make a sacrifice of their rights and privileges, or expose themselves to the public odium with which they were menaced. Mons. de Langeron, entering into their reasonings, promised to interpose and manage their honour and interest in this affair to the best of his power.

The same deputies went afterwards to the Hotel de Ville, to remonstrate with the echevins against reproaches so unfounded, believing with reason that they had a right to expect from these magistrates a conduct very different. They had already given many solid and substantial proofs of their sensibility to the public calamity in the donations they had distributed among the poor, of bread, broth, medicines, and money. They had erected an altar fronting the grand esplanade, where they said mass every day, which the people of the quarter had the consolation of hearing, while those of all other parts of the city were deprived of this blessing. They celebrated the holy office regularly, to which they added extraordinary prayers suited to this time of public calamity, and they had even afforded an asylum within the inclosure of their monastery to many families of the city. In short, the deputies, after having represented all these things to the echevins, concluded with saying, that, since it was no longer possible for them to offer assistance in money to the city, they offered all their plate, as a relief to its necessities. The echevins, sensible of their error, answered in terms suitable to an offer so generous, and the deputies departed, after having effected a perfect reconciliation between these gentlemen and the chapter. From this time no more men-

tion was made either of the procession, or the revelation of the girl.

But this affair could not be conducted so secretly as that no rumour of it should spread about the city. The people, deprived for a long time of the consolation of assisting in the offices of religion, and placing the utmost confidence in exterior acts of devotion, expected with impatience the performance of this ceremony. They saw in idea the cessation of their sorrows, from the moment it should take place, and felt severely disappointed when they found that all hopes of it were at an end. To console them in some measure, the lord bishop performed another act of piety, less dazzling perhaps, but more proper to effect a sincere conversion among the people. On All Saints day he caused an altar to be erected in the middle of the Course, and early in the morning he went forth barefooted, with a torch in his hand, preceded by all his clergy, and in this garb of atonement proceeded to the altar : when arrived there, he clothed himself in his episcopal robes, and celebrated mass with incense and peace-offerings in presence of all the people, who, thronging in crowds around him, and dissolved in tears at a spectacle so affecting, returned tenfold on his own head the benedictions he implored to be showered down on theirs. After the mass he delivered a dis-

course suited to the occasion, joining the unction of sweet words to the force of example. On the 15th of November he went with the rest of his clergy to the parish church of the Accoules, and, having taken the holy sacrament, mounted to the top of the tower, whence he gave his benediction to the whole city, the sound of the bells and the cannon of the galleys warning the people to consign themselves to prayer, while their bishop conjured the Lord to avert his anger, using the same terms as his holiness had employed at Rome to obtain for us the like favour.

Another event which happened about this time, was the expulsion of the canons of St. Martin. The scarcity of confessors had been greater in this parish than in any other, because it is the largest in the city. The vicars and priests whom the chapter had left there being all dead or sick, the parishioners were almost destitute of spiritual succour. This obliged the bishop and the echevins to proceed against the canons who were absent. But the better to understand their proceedings, it is necessary to observe that this parish having been erected into a collegiate church in the year 1576, by Pope Paul III, the chapter was composed of a provost, six canons, and two vicars, to whom were afterwards joined two extra priests, to assist the others in their functions. The bull of erection gives the superiority and jurisdiction of the

chapter entirely to the provost, the cure of the souls to the vicars, and says that the canons shall compose the chapter. It frees the provost from all cure of souls, giving that entirely to the vicars, with the reserve that in Lent, in times of public and pressing necessity, or whenever they should be required, the canons should be obliged to hear confessions, to administer the sacraments, and to provide in every respect for the spiritual wants of the parishioners, as well within as without the church. On these terms of the bull was founded the obligation to which the canons were understood to be subjected, to serve the cure during the time of the contagion.

But although the article be very precise, the canons believed themselves dispensed from residing in their parish during the time of the plague, whether because it had not been formally required, or that they left in the parish a sufficient number of priests to serve it, and that their predecessors had done the same in former visitations of the plague. They believed this the rather, inasmuch as they had not been summoned to attend the assembly of the clergy and principals of the religious communities, held by the bishop in the month of July. They met then together on the 8th of August, and having appointed a sufficient number of vicars, priests, and assistants, to whom they consigned the spiritual care of the parish;

they conceived they had amply performed their duty, and retired into the country.

But the vicars and priests being now all dead or sick, on the 31st of August the bishop published an ordonnance, requiring the canons to return to the city in three days to attend their duty, otherwise their benefices should be declared vacant. Afterwards, the greatest part of the confessors failing, as has already been observed, another and more general ordonnance was published, commanding all priests and monks, indiscriminately, who were absent, to return and exercise the functions of their ministry. These two ordonnances, it was alleged, supplied the place of canonical admonitions with regard to the canons. The echevins, believing this parish abandoned by their absence, presented a request on the 4th of September to the bishop, praying him to enjoin their immediate return to serve their cure, under pain of being deprived of their benefices. This request was followed by an ordonnance from the bishop, commanding, under the penalty required, their appearance in the city within twenty-four hours. Still they did not return; and the echevins making another representation to the bishop on the 27th of September, he proceeded against them, and on the 10th of October declared their benefices vacant, and appointed other persons to supply their places. This sentence was however not sig-

nified to the canons till the 18th of the same month.

They had in the mean time returned ; and, having assembled together on the 15th, notified to the bishop and echevins their return, requiring at the same time of the latter a house, and an allowance for their support ; alleging that their revenues consisting only of casual advantages in the church, which were entirely stopped by the contagion, they had now no means of supporting themselves. To this it was answered, that as to the notification of their return, that was come too late, since others were already appointed to their benefices ; and as to the request of a house and allowance, that was thus become perfectly nugatory.

Nothing now remained to the old canons but to declare an appeal against this sentence. The new ones named by the bishop had already taken possession of the door of the church ; but they could not enter it to exercise their functions, since the keys still remained in the hands of their predecessors, who, according to appearance, would not resign them but by compulsion. But to obviate this difficulty, the new beneficiaries forced the doors of the church, the sacristy, and the chapter-room, and seized on the church, the ornaments, and the documents of the chapter. The ancient canons, incensed at a pro-

ceeding so violent, endeavoured in the absence of the lieutenant to make an antient advocate receive their information against its authors; but the bishop interposed his authority to put a stop to these procedures, and at present the old canons remain expelled from their benefices and their church, while the new ones are quiet possessors of both. The event of the appeal of the former must show whether they will long remain so or not.

CHAP. XIX.

Continuation of the malady during the month of November.—Fresh disorders break out among the people.—Chamber of police.—The physicians resume their first opinions.

THE calm which had appeared towards the end of October was not of long duration. Such is the course of this terrible malady, that, after having carried its rage to the utmost height, it seems on a sudden to stop short, but it ends not so. Too happy, if this short cessation be not to break out again with a two-fold violence. Its progress in its declension is, besides, usually slower than in its breaking out. In effect, after All-Saints, many new sick appeared in different quarters of the city; above all in that of St. Ferreol, which had been the last attacked. But if the patients are new, the malady is uniformly the same; it presents the same character, the same symptoms, the same kind of malignity, though in a less violent degree, since many more in proportion of those who fell sick during the month of October recovered, than in the former periods.

The number of sick was also greatly diminished, the hospitals were now reduced to two, and of

those who remained in the houses, not more than seven or eight fell sick in a week. The hospital of the convalescents, vacated entirely by the death of the majority of the patients, and the cure of the rest, was now abandoned : in the hospital of La Charité, 512 patients were received during the month of October, and only 181 in November. In the former month, 275 died, in the latter, 172 ; and in the same month, 94 were discharged cured. In October none were discharged cured, since it requires from thirty to forty days to perfect the cure ; and it will be recollected, that this hospital was not opened till the beginning of October. In the hospital of the Jeu-de-mail, 357 sick from the city and territory were received during the month of October ; and in November, 274. Of the former, 190 died, of the latter, 115. The convalescents of this hospital were removed at the proper period to the convent of the reformed Augustins ; and those of La Charité were lodged in the house of the Percs de l'Oratoire. These fathers no sooner heard that a wish was entertained to convert their house to this purpose, than they voluntarily offered it ; and Mons. Reboul, one of the principal merchants of the city, who, during the whole of the contagion, had acted as a commissary with unwearied zeal and courage, was charged with preparing this new hospital for the convalescents. He applied himself to the work

with so much ardour, that in two days he had disposed two hundred beds for the reception of the sick, of which the fathers themselves furnished fifty. But it was soon found that this house was in an inconvenient situation, too much in the heart of the city, and not sufficiently isolated; and the convent of the Observantins was substituted, which, being close to the house of La Charité, was found much more convenient.

The convicts, meanwhile, continued to inter the dead, to transport the sick to the hospitals, to serve in the hospitals, and to keep the streets clean. An additional supply of 142 was given during the course of the month of October; and these, with the few that remained of the former supplies, served during all the remaining time of the contagion. On the whole, the number of convicts given for the service of the city amounted to 691. To these she is greatly indebted for her ultimate deliverance from this terrible calamity; and how much soever these unfortunate wretches may be in general esteemed the outcasts of human nature, the services they rendered us were not the less important, nor ought we, therefore, to feel the less grateful for them. Let us here adore that Providence, who thus ordained us a new subject of humiliation, in the necessity to which we were reduced of employing for the most important of all services, the most vile and despicable class of

beings that the city contains within her bosom. Nor let us forget to confess our obligations to that illustrious prince, who had the goodness to afford us a succour so essential, or to those who executed his orders with so much wisdom and zeal.

Two causes concurred about this time to increase again the number of the sick. The malady being still in its utmost violence in the country, many of those whose peasants were sick, or whose families were attacked, fled from their bastides, and took refuge in the city, where the seeds of the disease which they had brought with them broke out. The commandant perceiving this, and, negligent of nothing which interested the public safety, issued new orders for the prevention of this abuse, and strictly forbade all entrance into the city, except to those who could produce a certificate from the officers of health, that no one had been sick in their bastide for the last forty days. Those who came daily to the city, such as the peasants who brought their commodities for sale, were obliged to renew their certificates every week. These regulations soon put a stop to this dangerous communication between the city and country, and the malady resumed its former progress of declension.

The avidity to take possession of an unexpected inheritance was also to many the fatal cause of their own destruction. Called to the entire suc-

cession of the wealth of a whole family, to whom, perhaps, they were very distantly related, and impatient to know the extent of their new acquisitions, they entered without precaution into infected houses, and, searching indiscriminately among the effects of the deceased, they often found what they sought not, and paid with their lives the forfeit of their cupidity. Their fatal heritage then devolved to relations yet more remote, fortunate if they could profit by such an example, and not fall equally martyrs to indecent and unreasonable transports. It was not, however, always the legitimate heirs on whom the punishment of their avidity fell ; it was often those who found in the effects they stole the just forfeit of their crime. In vain had the commandant absolutely prohibited the removal of any clothes or effects from one house to another—a blind and headstrong rapacity, despised alike these wise ordonnances and the perils of the contagion. But in proportion as the times became more tranquil, and more attention could be given to minor objects, these orders were executed with greater severity.

Another abuse of a very singular nature occasioned, more than all, this partial renewal of the malady. Will it be believed? Scarcely had the contagion begun somewhat to diminish in its ravages, than the people, impatient to repair the

mortality it had occasioned, thought of nothing but repeopling the city by new marriages—like mariners who have been in imminent peril of shipwreck, but are no sooner arrived in port, than, forgetting the danger they have escaped, they seek in new pleasures to drown the recollection of past troubles. Our temples, long shut up, were now only opened for the administration of this sacrament. A species of phrensy seemed to have seized on both sexes, which led them to conclude the affair of all others the most important in the world, in the space of twenty-four hours, and to consummate it almost at the same instant. Widows, whose cheeks were even yet moistened with the tears they had shed over a dead husband, consoled themselves in the arms of a living one, who perhaps was in like manner snatched from them a few days after, and in a few days more they were wedded to a third. In short, such was the passion which had taken possession of the people, that if the usual time of gestation could have been shortened, we should soon have found the city as populous as before the malady. Let us leave to the physicians, by whom it was started, the discussion of the question, whether this frantic passion was or was not a consequence of the malady, while we seek to account for these marriages on grounds more sensible and reasonable.

An infinite number of artisans and persons of

all sorts and situations were left without wives, without families, without relations, without neighbours. Returning to their accustomed occupations, and not being able to spare the time necessary to arrange the affairs of their houses themselves, or provide for their own sustenance, they knew not what to do single, and found themselves under the necessity of marrying again immediately. Others, whom the poverty and misery of their situations had precluded before this calamity from all idea of marrying, now on a sudden become rich, either by the immense gains they had acquired in serving the sick, or in transporting the dead,—by the unexpected inheritance of a property from which they were very far removed, or by means more easy and concise than any of the above,—now for the first time in their lives finding themselves in a situation to gratify this universal and most natural inclination of every human being, it was not surprising that they should hasten to enter into a connection which had so long been the object of their eager wishes. To these may be added a number of girls of all ages, who, left desolate in the world, and no less embarrassed with the state in which they found themselves, than with the fortunes to which they were become heirs by the death of all their relations, thought there was no better resource than to throw themselves into the arms of a husband.

Above all, those who, from some deformity of person, had been precluded all hopes of marriage, and had no other prospect than a convent for their portion, found themselves too happy in the change that had taken place in their views not to be eager to enter the first moment possible into the state for which they sighed. And it often happened, amongst a numerous family, that if one was more ugly or deformed than the rest, it was she who escaped the disease ; while the eminently beautiful fell its first victims. Young men whom the fear of a father had prevented from contracting marriages, perhaps, little suitable to their situation, now freed from this constraint, hastened to satisfy a blind passion with which they had been long possessed, and to dissipate a fortune they had no hopes of enjoying so soon. Such were the motives which influenced the greater part of these marriages ;—the effect of them was to banish from among the people that sadness and consternation which the terror of the contagion had spread among them. It was then, that houses in which a few days before nothing was heard but sighs and groans, resounded with cries of joy, and that the utmost sadness and desolation was succeeded by sports and festivities,—shall I say it ?—by the ball and the dance. Strange blindness ! which, in rendering us insensible to so many misfortunes, might draw upon us yet greater in future !

But so many marriages hastily concluded and consummated, were the occasion of spreading anew the fatal infection. It often happened that, while one party was totally free from the malady, the other yet but imperfectly cured, and bearing about in his body the lurking principle of the disease, communicated it to his wholesome partner, who dearly paid the rashness of which he had been guilty. To prevent these abuses, which could not fail to protract the evil, it was agreed between my lord bishop and the commandant, that no license of marriage should be given, unless the parties demanding it could produce certificates of health from the physicians. The abatement of the sickness gave the latter gentlemen leisure to attend to this point:—in effect, it now became for some time their principal occupation to receive the disagreeable visits of those who were frantic to rush into the bonds of marriage.

If the people had shown no other signs of having forgotten their past misfortunes than the joy which these new marriages occasioned, there would have been no reason to fear that a ceremony honoured by the first miracle of our Saviour, authorised by the laws, and necessary to society, could irritate the Lord anew against us, provided all was conducted in conformity with Christian decency and rectitude. But what was very likely to draw down upon us yet greater judgments from his anger,

were the thefts, the plunderings, and an infinity of other crimes now perpetrated, the horrors of which we dare not here retrace. For these their perpetrators promised themselves impunity on the part of men from the troubles of the contagion, and absolution on the part of Heaven by the favour he had shown them, either in their having escaped the disease entirely, or recovered from it, when it proved mortal to so many thousands of their fellow-citizens. While the arm of the Lord was yet extended over us, a general license was seen to reign among the people, a depravity of morals frightful to think on. Some seized on houses left vacant by the mortality; others forced open those which were shut up, or only guarded by persons incapable of resistance. They entered those where, perhaps, there remained only one person languishing with the malady, forced open the closets and drawers, and took away whatever they found most precious, often carrying their infamy even to the length of delivering themselves from an importunate witness, who had otherwise but a few moments to live. These enormous crimes, much more frequent in the height of the malady than in its decline, were generally committed either by those who served the sick, who carried away the dead, or who attended at the hospitals. By the declarations which these people from their situations were enabled to wring from the dying, they were informed

of the state of their houses ; nay, it often happened even, that by the same means they got possession of their keys. But of this we have already spoken.

This license was yet greater in the country, where the distance of the bastides from each other, and the opportunity of going to them in the night, favoured these criminal expeditions. It will easily be supposed, that in the end these stolen clothes and effects must spread the infection, and occasion fresh attacks of the malady.

Disorders thus flagrant could not be of long continuance under a commandant whose strict rectitude and firmness of character kept the whole city in awe. As it is under favour of darkness that villains are bold in committing crimes, he made an ordonnance which forbade people unknown to go about the city as soon as night began, and to persons known after the retreat was sounded at nine o'clock, and even till that hour they were not permitted to go out without a torch. He caused all public places, public-houses, and houses of pleasure, so pernicious to innocence, to be shut up. The patrols were observed more strictly, and the rounds were made more regularly ; the strictest search was made in the city and country for all suspected persons, and the prisons were soon filled with these malefactors. Many deposits of infected clothes were discovered as well in the city as in the country ;—all those women whose occupation it is to corrupt youth were seized and confined ;

while frequent executions repressed the licentiousness of the people, and finally put a stop to crimes, capable of drawing down upon us still greater judgments from Heaven.

The criminals were judged by the chamber of police. This tribunal, at which the commandant himself presided, was become sovereign, and judged finally during the time of the contagion. It was composed of the four echevins, three attorneys, and some other practitioners of the law. It was established under letters patent obtained by former echevins during the preceding plagues; and, on the authority of these letters, Mons. de Langeron now proceeded to the administration of justice by this chamber during the rest of the contagion. Many persons were condemned by it to death, to the galleys, and to other punishments; and all civil affairs were also referred to its jurisdiction. Before this tribunal many young students of the law pleaded, and, in these early efforts, gave promising assurance of what might be expected from their maturity. It was for a while almost overpowered with the multiplicity of affairs; and above all, by proving odd and singular inheritances to which the death of so many persons intestate and that of entire families gave rise. A commissary was also appointed to take inventories of the effects of those who died in ease or affluence, and a treasurer to receive the deposit of

the money or effects of value found in houses deserted, till the right of inheritance to the deceased could be made out.

If the people soon forgot their past misfortunes, the physicians of Montpellier also soon forgot the dangers they had run;—and if the first resumed their antient licentiousness and disorder as soon as the fury of the contagion began to abate, the second no less resumed their former errors as soon as the danger seemed to diminish. They came to Marseilles in the month of August, prejudiced with the idea imbibed in the schools, that there is no such thing as a contagious disorder, and that this being nothing but a common malignant fever, had no other contagion than what was inspired by terror; fortified in their sentiments by that of a learned physician, to whose talents and experience they believed the utmost deference to be due. They were, however, at first somewhat shaken on visiting our sick; so that though they dared not own, in their report to his royal highness the regent, that it was the plague, they attributed the propagation of the disease to the “*little precaution used in separating the infected from those who were not so*”—a precaution wholly useless, if, as they affirmed, the disorder was not contagious. It is plain then, that at that time they believed in a contagion. It was still worse when they returned afterwards to Marseilles to attend upon the sick.

Struck with the state in which they found them, with the similarity of the disease in all the persons attacked, with its resistance to all their remedies, with the numbers that fell victims to it, with the death of their own servants, and even of some of the surgeons who had accompanied them, they spoke loudly of the contagion, and even showed that they feared it not a little. Not that they can be accused of having been sparing of their persons; on the contrary, it is but justice due to them to own, that they uniformly approached the sick with the utmost firmness, yet it was not without great precautions, and evident apprehension of danger.

But towards the end of October, and in the month of November, when the danger was nearly passed, and they had happily escaped it, they began again to waver in their opinions. Emboldened by the evident diminution of the malady, which became every day more and more palpable, they as loudly denied the contagion as they had before confessed it,—nay, they even in some sort insulted the timidity of those who feared it, forgetting that they themselves had been of that number. The proofs of this will soon be seen, when we treat of the works published on the subject of this calamity.

It was not the same with the physicians of Marseilles, some of whom, at first prejudiced like

themselves against the idea of contagious diseases, equally on the authority of the great name above alluded to, yet were so confounded at the sight of the danger, and so convinced by facts which foiled all disbelief, that they soon abandoned an opinion so fallacious. Those who had been the most sceptical with regard to contagion were, through the medium even of that disbelief which made them negligent of all precaution, among the first struck with the disease. But in changing their opinion their conduct was not changed. They visited the sick as undauntedly when convinced of the contagion as when disbelieving it. They were not ashamed, however, of owning their error, and were careful not to resume it when the danger was past. Nothing appeared to them more unjust, or more adverse to the public good, than to cherish in the people a false security against a malady, the effects of which they had seen to be so fatal. But let us not carry any further here, reflections to which we must soon return.

The public certainly expected, both of their own physicians and the strangers, that, occupied entirely by one disease, they should at length be agreed among themselves in the manner of treating it. But,—who will believe it?—that twelve physicians were assembled together in one city for the treatment of the same disease, with which so many thousands were afflicted, without ever

deigning to meet together and confer on its nature, so as to find, if not the true cause of it, at least some remedy which might prove efficacious against its ravages, or to consult upon the best method of treating it? On the contrary, they always kept themselves divided into different bands, forming as it were different sects. The public were so much the more scandalized at this division, as they had seen, in the beginning of the contagion, the physicians of the city assemble every evening at the convent of the Capucins, with the surgeons, to compare their observations. They endeavoured to make this union with the strangers, who uniformly refused it, observing in that a conduct directly opposite to the advice and orders of the celebrated physician for whom they professed so much deference, and whom they assert in their book to have taken for their guide.

CHAP. XX.

Fourth and last period of the plague.—Physicians sent into the territory.

AT length we are arrived at the last period of the plague, and the end of our misfortunes. The city already begins to assume a more cheerful aspect; persons are seen walking about, and without the same air of fear and mistrust as at the commencement of their emancipation. The approach of winter recalls some from the country, and the pressure of business others;—but still the mortality has left a void in the city, at once striking and melancholy. And although during this last period of the plague, which comprehends the months of December and January, scarcely more than five or six fell sick in a week, yet it may truly be said, that joy was a stranger to the hearts of all reasonable persons, and was felt by those alone in whom the frantic passion for marriage drowned all recollection of the sorrows they had experienced, and the dangers they had escaped.

The number of patients in the hospitals was so much diminished, that at the end of November it was judged no longer necessary to keep those of the convalescents and Rive-neuve open. It was

never possible to obtain an exact account of the state of the hospital of the convalescents, since, as we have already noticed, it always presented a scene of confusion which precluded the possibility of arriving at any accurate information on the subject. That of Rive-neuve being confined solely to the quarter, was not of sufficient consideration to merit any particular attention, having never had more than a hundred sick at a time. It remains then only to speak of the hospitals of the Jeu-de-mail and La Charité. In the former, 153 patients were received during the month of December, of whom 85 died; and in the same month 86 convalescents were discharged. The whole number that then remained in the hospital was 225. In the Jeu-de-mail 103 patients were received during the month of December, of whom 95 died.

The tranquillity which now reigned in the city on the subject of the malady excited an extreme ardour among the people to be restored to the ordinary exercises of religion. The licentiousness we have been obliged to notice was not so universal, but that a considerable number still remained who had resisted the general torrent of corruption, and who, touched both with their own misfortunes and those of their neighbours, thought only of averting the anger of Heaven by a sincere repentance and ardent prayers; and, persuaded of the great efficacy of the mass, testified the most

earnest desire to assist at this holy sacrifice. My lord bishop, always anxious to cherish such good dispositions in his flock, and thinking it was no longer necessary to observe the same restraint as formerly, yielded to their desires. He accordingly published an ordonnance on the 6th of December, by which it was decreed, that altars should be erected before the doors of all the churches, where mass should be celebrated every day, and at the same hour, throughout the city, to the end that the people being by this means very much dispersed, less danger might be incurred of spreading anew the disease.—And, for the consolation of those whom fear withheld from being present, notice was given by the sound of a bell of the different parts of the mass, so that they were enabled to join in it even in their own houses. It was impossible to carry further a benevolent attention to satisfy the piety of the faithful. A like ordonnance was published on the 13th of December for the churches in the country, and the same order was observed both there and in the city for several months.

But while the state of the city was so much ameliorated, that of the country was still very deplorable. The physicians of Marseilles, who always had the welfare of their fellow-countrymen most sincerely at heart, finding themselves somewhat at leisure, both from the great supply that

had been received of foreign medical aid, and from the diminution of the number of sick, now offered their services to attend in the country, which was extremely destitute of assistance in every way. An offer so conformable to the wishes of a commandant, who was anxious alike for the preservation of every part of the territory over which he presided, and whose labours had already been crowned with so much success, could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception; and measures were immediately taken for putting all things in such a train as might render this attendance the most efficacious possible. The territory was divided into four quarters, to each of which was allotted a physician, a surgeon, and an assistant. They set out on their rounds in the morning, carrying with them every thing necessary for the patients, and returned to the city in the evening. This fatiguing task, which was performed on horseback, commenced near the middle of December, and continued till the entire cessation of the malady. The captains of the respective quarters of the territory received every day from the commissaries lists of the sick in their departments, which were transmitted to the physicians, who visited the bastides according to these lists. Such was the exact order established by the commandant, that the same strict police was now observed among such a number of persons, scattered over a consi-

derable circuit, as if they had been all assembled together within a small inclosure.

It is needless to repeat here the deplorable scenes which the bastides presented, enough has already been said on this subject ; it is sufficient to observe, that the desolation was so great, that the physicians were even obliged to carry with them oats for their horses, and provisions for themselves, since nothing was to be found in the country. Can a stronger proof be adduced of the zeal with which these gentlemen were animated for the public service, than their daily exposing themselves in running about the country at this season of the year, to the inclemency of the weather, to the greatest bodily fatigue, and to the sight of misery in all its most frightful and revolting forms ? Yet these are the physicians against whom such unworthy calumnies have been circulated,—who have been so unjustly accused of inaction.

As it is known by tradition, that in the Levant the plague generally ceases at the summer solstice, it was expected that ours would finish at the solstice of winter. This was so much the more believed, as it has been frequently observed, that popular and epidemic diseases follow the circle of the seasons, and last from one solstice to the other, or from one equinox to the other. In fact, ours nearly followed this course. The disease did not break out with any fury till about midsummer, and

after Christmas very few fresh persons fell sick—that is to say, in the city; for in the country, as the commencement of the malady was later, so was also its cessation. The feast of Christmas was, however, passed without the ordinary solemnities; a mass only was said as usual at the doors of the churches. But my lord bishop, whose attention omitted nothing that might tend to awaken from time to time the piety of the faithful, by such acts of religion as the circumstances would permit, on the last day of the year made a procession round the ramparts, carrying the holy sacrament, accompanied by such of his clergy as had escaped the contagion. He gave his benediction at all the gates of the city, and at the graves, to invoke the mercy of God upon us, and upon the unfortunate deceased, whom this calamity had deprived of ecclesiastical sepulture. The people, edified by his piety, testified great eagerness to attend in this procession; and it was not without difficulty that order was maintained among them by the soldiers appointed to accompany the procession. We must not here pass unobserved the good conduct of the latter, who attended with a modesty and devotion altogether interesting and instructive.

At length the new year, 1721, began, but the public mind was not yet sufficiently calmed to admit of those visits of relationship and ceremony,

and of those testimonies of friendship and amity, usually exchanged on this occasion. The good wishes were only presented on meeting in the streets, and these turned entirely on prayers, that the year which was beginning might prove happier than that which was just passed. A more tragic one than the latter could scarcely be experienced. Hopes not unfounded might now be added to these wishes, since the fury of the disease seemed exhausted, and the number of sick was very inconsiderable. In the hospital of La Charité, 113 patients only were received in the month of January, and 115 convalescents were discharged. In the Jeu-de-mail, 206 were received, but of these 41 only were of the city, the rest were of the country, where the malady was not yet so entirely subdued. The few that now fell sick in the city were among the very poorest class, and who might well be suspected of having taken the infection from clothes they had secreted.

But even in this moment, when confidence was so much restored, an event happened which awakened a new alarm. The wife of one of the physicians who served in the country, and who could not be supposed to have received the infection in the manner above alluded to, fell sick and died in twenty-four hours; and the same day a son, the only child who remained, was attacked, and died also in a few hours. The rest of the

children of this physician* had all died in the month of September. Every one was touched with such a series of misfortunes, which seemed to fall the more severely on a gentleman who had himself suffered several attacks of the disease, and who by this last stroke was left entirely desolate. To render his situation still more melancholy, he was now shut up alone in his own house to perform a quarantine of forty days, surrounded only by objects, which at every moment must renew his grief for his numerous losses. Strange that he should be regarded as a more dangerous object for having lost his wife and son in his own house, than while he was constantly visiting thirty or forty sick every day in the country, or more so than those who still continued this practice, and who were left at full liberty. Perhaps there were persons who wished to make him an example of that severe police which he had himself so much recommended to the magistrates at the commencement of the contagion, and which had at that time been so much neglected. It should seem, however, to impartial minds, that a man who had served his country with so much zeal merited a different treatment.

This affair was attended with no particular consequences : from that time scarcely any per-

* Mons. Bertrand the author of this narrative.

son of consideration in the city fell a victim to the disease, and the period finished very tranquilly. The calm of the last two months had given time to the physicians to print their works on the malady, and to the magistrates to labour at purifying the houses from infection. Of both these things we proceed now to treat.

CHAP. XXI.

Of several works printed on the plague.

WHEN so vast and fertile a field was opened for persons of all descriptions and talents to write, it will not appear surprising that, as the malady subsided, so many took up the pen. The troubles and disorders of the contagion, the terrible mortality it occasioned, and the singular events to which it gave rise, furnished ample matter to the historian for the exercise of his genius; the physicians found a no less powerful stimulus to theirs in the symptoms and accidents of a malady so dreadful; while the poet could not fail to seize on an occasion which furnished him with such grand, such sublime, and at the same time such terrible ideas for the exercise of his imagination. The city was accordingly no sooner beginning to breathe from the horrors it had witnessed, than it was inundated with a variety of productions in each of the classes above alluded to. We shall proceed to give some account of them, devoting this and the following chapter to a sort of literary history of our plague. In doing this, we shall confine ourselves almost entirely to the office of historian, stating only the tenor of the works, with

the public judgment upon them, adding our own reflections with a very sparing hand.

The first publications which appeared were divers short and succinct relations of this memorable period, which were, properly speaking, nothing more than letters to friends, describing the disorders in the town, and the dreadful spectacle presented by our streets, as the most striking and affecting part of our disaster. To these *Short Relations* succeeded a work entitled, *A Discourse on the most remarkable Events that happened at Marseilles during the time of the Contagion*. I know not whether this discourse was ever delivered, but it certainly merited well to have been so. Our misfortunes are described in a most lively and affecting manner, while the frequent quotations from Scripture, and the sentiments of piety with which it abounds, give reason to suppose it was written by an ecclesiastic. It is, however, reprehensible in one respect, viz. in the reproaches it makes to the clergy of having abandoned their posts; whereas, as I have already said, they had on the contrary been exemplary in the performance of their duty, and numbers had fallen victims to their zeal. These are facts of which it is unpardonable in those who attempt to write similar histories not to inform themselves with the utmost accuracy.

The most ample relation given was that by

Mons. Pichaty, counsellor of the corporation, entitled, *A comprehensive Journal of all that passed in the City of Marseilles during the Plague, taken from the Archives of the Council-chamber in the Hotel de Ville.* A relation founded on like documents could not fail to be accurate as far as it went; and it was, perhaps, for being too faithful that it was suppressed, and the copies bought up as soon as it appeared*. This fruit of six months travail, although

* Of all the works enumerated in this and the following chapter as written upon the plague, the Journal here cited, and a Letter, of which mention will be found hereafter, from Mons. Pons, one of the physicians sent from Montpellier, to Mons. le Chevalier de Bon, first président of the Court of Accounts in that university, are the only ones of which I have been able to procure a sight. I inquired of the principal booksellers both of Marseilles and Aix for any of these productions, but could meet with none; nor could I find that any of them were preserved in the National Library at Marseilles. Even the Journal, and the Letter of Mons. Pons I did not see while I remained abroad, but the sight of a translation of them by Dr. Soame, preserved in the library of the London Medical Society, has been procured me since my return to England.

In all the leading features the Journal agrees with the present work; but being taken only from the archives of the Hotel de Ville, nothing is inserted which did not come officially before the magistrates and officers who attended there during the plague; consequently, many incidents and circumstances related by Mons. Bertrand could not find their way into it. And if the latter gentleman, in the work before us, should appear

although perfectly legitimate, since it was born in its paternal house, the Hotel de Ville, on the 10th of December, was nevertheless stifled in its birth, without the exact reason being known. What is known for certain is, that those to whom it was intended to do honour were the most discontented with it. It was judged highly improper in the

appear to cast reflections on the conduct of the magistrates, and of the physicians sent from other parts to the assistance of Marseilles, which are not to be found in the Journal, it must be observed, that no censures, either positive or implied, on the conduct of these gentlemen, were likely to be introduced into documents, over the composition of which they themselves presided. For the rest, the remarks made by Mons. Bertrand on the Journal appear to give a very fair and just estimate of its merits.

The letter from Mons. Pons is short.—He professes to have arrived at Marseilles fully impressed with the conviction that there was not really such a malady as the plague, and that what was so called was only a malignant fever, aggravated by particular and adventitious circumstances; but that his practice at Marseilles gave him a perfect and fatal conviction that it was a most dreadful and decided contagion.

To the translation of these two pamphlets is prefixed a description of the town and territory of Marseilles, taken, as is there stated, principally from a work published by Mr. Bradley, entitled, *The Plague of Marseilles considered*. For the accuracy of this description the translator says he can vouch, as he had been himself upon the spot in the year 1714. A great many striking inaccuracies in it might, however, be pointed out, if it were of any consequence in this place; but as this appears irrelevant to our present purpose, they shall be noticed in another work.

counsellor of the corporation to publish things which it was the interest of the corporation itself to keep secret. One complains that his exploits are slightly passed over ; another is offended that he is only placed on a level with those to whom he considers himself as infinitely superior ; another finds that nothing but trifles are recorded of him, while his conduct furnished matter for a magnificent eulogium ; and all cry that the rudder of the city is placed in other hands than those who ought naturally to hold it. In short, though the author has not been sparing of his compliments, which are lavishly dealt throughout, he had the misfortune not to satisfy any one ; while the public at large had to wish that certain facts had not been disguised, others altered, and others passed over in entire silence. This work is however, on the whole, tolerably faithful ; the descriptions are lively, the style agreeable ; our misfortunes are described with eloquence, perhaps with an eloquence somewhat too pompous ; and the malady, sweeping every thing before it, is described with a very natural colouring. The ill success of this work cost the lives of several others, which never saw the day, their authors dreading to experience the same fate, and choosing rather to suppress their productions entirely than to renounce the sacred right of speaking the truth.

It was not the same case with our poets.—More

bold than the historians, they suffered their imaginations to soar at large into the highest poetic regions, and indulged in all the license of their art. Divers odes were written on the plague, all of which bear, it is true, some impression of talent, but no one arrives at the sublimity for which a subject of so much grandeur and interest seems to give occasion. One deserves notice for its sincerity, another for its piety; but in all it is nothing but the mournful spectacle of the dying and the dead. Some were accompanied with a paraphrase on the *Miserere*, and others by prayers in verse suited to the conjuncture. In short, the Provençaux, in all ages fond of rhyming, were now every one eager to charm the ennui of his seclusion by paying court to the Muses. Some young men, whom the cessation of public diversions compelled to seek amusement elsewhere, endeavoured to procure it by printing an epistle in verse, composed by a young capucin to make an essay of his talents. The pious recluse, unsuspecting of this plan of sportive youth, spouted his verses every where without reserve, which were at length stolen and printed with a title that marks well the character of the piece: *Premature Fruit; or the admirable Effusions of the original Genius of the Seraphic Father, brother Cornelius, who has not yet reached his 22d Year*. It must be owned, however, that the situation of the author, and the nature of

the work, seemed to entitle it to somewhat more respect.

The last poetical production which appeared, was an *Epistle to Damon*, containing a recital of our misfortunes. It was prefaced by a dedicatory address to my lord bishop of Marscilles, and concluded with a paraphrase in verse on the *Miserere*. This piece is full of sentiments of sincere piety, but it does not evince much genius or poetical talent.

But of all classes of writers, the physicians were those who made the press most groan with their effusions. A physician of this city having sent a Memoir to one of his friends at Lyons, who had requested some information respecting the malady, it was believed that this might be made of public utility; and a celebrated physician of the latter place committed it to the press in this rough and unpolished state. He prefixed to it an advertisement, which seems placed there expressly to tarnish the reputation of the Memoir itself, since the Memoir is written with that negligence which usually reigns in a private letter to a friend, whereas the advertisement is a work highly laboured and extremely polished. In this advertisement, the system of pestilential worms is placed in its utmost force, and supported in a manner capable of giving all the appearance of verity possible to the most ingenious of fictions. The phy-

sician of Marseilles afterwards retouched his observations; he did not, however, print them, he only placed them in the hands of Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, in the hope of enticing them to unite their talents with his own in the formation of a work which might prove highly beneficial to the other towns of the province, who now began to be afflicted with the same malady. These physicians, far from entering into his views, conceived that he meant to print his work, and so gain an advantage over them—a thing which certainly had never entered into his ideas; and, to anticipate him, they hastened to publish a work entitled, *A succinct Relation of the Accidents in the Plague at Marseilles, of its Symptoms, and the manner of its cure.* This was at first followed by a Latin letter in answer to Mons. Fornés, physician of Barcelona, sent by the viceroy of Catalonia to Montpellier, to inform himself of the nature of the malady at Marseilles. In the sequel the work was reprinted, with the addition of *Observations made upon the Sick, and on the opening of the dead Bodies, with Reflections upon both.*

This publication excited the complaints and murmurs of all the other foreign physicians and surgeons, as well as of the physicians and surgeons of the city, and of the public at large. The foreign physicians were indignant to see Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny draw such a line of demar-

cation between themselves and their colleagues, and make as it were, in conjunction with Mons. Soulliers the surgeon, a party separate from the rest. Those who held the rank of professors above all felt offended at this distinction, since the dignities they enjoyed seemed to give them an especial right to expect to be invited to join in such a publication. The surgeons too, who believed themselves of equal eminence with Mons. Soulliers, saw not with pleasure the distinction which Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny thus seemed to give him above the rest. Mons. Nelatton in particular felt himself offended at this treatment; and most certainly the courage and application he had shown on this occasion gave him a just title to expect a very different conduct. The physicians of Marseilles were less surprised at the reserve maintained towards them, since it was but consistent with the uniform tenor of the behaviour they had experienced from Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny; but they could not without indignation see themselves reproached with desertion and inaction—charges, the injustice of which was so palpable. At the first visit of these two physicians of Montpellier, they found those of Marseilles in the constant practice of visiting the sick, nor could they have forgotten that they were themselves conducted by the latter when they

made their circuit round the city to fulfil the object of their mission. When afterwards Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny were invited to reside at Marseilles, it was because most of these physicians whom they calumniate were either ill or dead. Was it of inaction that they had fallen sick, or died? In short, it was remarked by all parties, that nothing was less observed in this work than that sincerity of which it made such loud professions throughout.

In the first place, the gentlemen assert that their observations are conformable to those of their colleagues who had laboured in concert with them, while it is notorious that they always kept themselves apart from the rest, without ever communicating or conferring with any physician or surgeon whatever—How then could they be assured of this conformity, supposing it actually to exist? But so far are their observations from being conformable to those of the others, that they are in direct opposition to them; first, inasmuch as no one of the others has ever concurred in the five classes in which Messrs. Chycoineau, Verny, and Soulliers divide the sick, and still less in their third class, composed of the first and second, and which, it is asserted, has never found existence but in their book. In the second place, of all those who have attended the sick, no one has found

the purgatives of these three gentlemen, given after the emetic, successful, any more than the laxative ptisans with senna.

Secondly, they say, further, that they have conformed in every thing to the ideas of the illustrious Mons. Chirac, first physician to his royal highness the regent. It is well known, however, that in all his letters he recommended to them to meet and confer with the other physicians—a thing they never condescended to do.

Thirdly, they boldly assert, “that they judged it expedient to reject the method of extirpating the tumours, which was in practice before they came into the city;” whereas it is a matter of public notoriety, that though this method was known in the city before their arrival, they are the only persons who ever put it in practice, because they were the only ones who believed that the whole venom of the disease centered in the tumours, and that in extirpating them, the disease too was extirpated. In short, it has been remarked, that all the observations which they give as singular, are very far from being so, and turn only on cases which were extremely common and familiar throughout the malady.

We will pass over the other subjects of complaint which the physicians had against this book; it suits not with our plan or inclinations here to enter further into their quarrel. Shall we never

see the faculty agreed among themselves? and must mankind be condemned for ever to trust their lives to persons who in general concur in nothing but in finding the means to destroy them?

The public were not better satisfied with this publication of Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, than the physicians. Although they had been careful to distribute copies of it in all the principal houses of the city, this only served to confirm the opinion formed on the report given by the first persons who had seen it. From physicians so distinguished, a work was expected answerable to the reputation they had acquired, full of deep research on the nature of the malady, and useful discoveries on the means of curing it. It was supposed that persons of such distinction, who could never deign to confound themselves with the common herd, would soar far above them in the beauty of their style, in their superior erudition, and in the novelty of their discoveries—that those who had dared to reproach others with inaction and unjust prepossessions, would act themselves with greater efficacy, and not give in to prepossessions yet more unjust—that those who attributed the great mortality in this city to the prejudice entertained of the incurability of the disease, would soon put an end to this prejudice by the cures they should perform. In fine, it was expected that physicians so distinguished by

their rank and merit, would know how to repress that unworthy passion of decrying others, so common among the generality of physicians—would rise above those vain-boastings which attribute every thing to itself, and insinuate that others have done nothing—above that petty vanity which piques itself even upon the most trifling things, and seeks every where its own advancement.

It will easily be imagined, then, what was the surprise of the public to find in this relation nothing but a simple and meagre enumeration of the symptoms of the malady, which they already knew by fatal experience—to find, instead of a profound and scientific explanation of its cause and nature, a Latin letter, containing a frank confession of the total ignorance of its authors on this matter, owning even that they were in despair of ever arriving at this knowledge—when they found no other cause assigned for the malady than the terror which arises from a heated imagination—when they saw that the sick treated by these physicians, so able and so active, died not less under their hands than under those of their predecessors—that no other advantage had been derived from opening the dead bodies than grounds on which to support the new system they sought to erect, and to establish that as a cause which is but an effect—that the practice of these gentlemen was not more successful, nor

their opinions more just, than those of others—that they placed the plague on a level with common putrid and malignant fevers, the difference of which had been felt so forcibly even by the most inexperienced—that they proposed no other remedies than those, the weakness and inefficacy of which had already been too fatally proved—that far from correcting the prejudice of the incurability of the malady, they had only strengthened and confirmed it, by the small number of sick they had cured—that, in short, their work was filled with nothing but trifles or inuendos, useless to every other purpose but to that of decrying their colleagues, and casting unjust suspicions on their conduct.

Such was the public opinion at Marseilles on the work of Messrs. Chycoineau, Verny, and Soulliers. It may appear, perhaps, somewhat severe, and to savour of ingratitude, when it is considered that it was passed on persons who came generously to the succour of the city. But surely those who employed them had a right to expect that they should not have taken advantage of the public credulity, to introduce into a work, destined for their use and instruction, private views of their own, nor put forth opinions more likely to weaken confidence than to inspire it. Indeed those who judged the works of the physicians of Montpellier thus severely, seem to be authorised

in this ingratitude, by the sentiments put forth in them respecting the contagion. Be this as it may, certain it is that one cannot be deluded oneself, nor delude others with regard to facts public and notorious, and which have passed before the eyes of a whole town.

After this, dare we hazard some reflections? Those who see the plague only at a distance may regard it as the effect of a panic terror ;—it is an opinion we can pardon, if on seeing it nearer they be sufficiently ingenuous to own their error, and sufficiently jealous of their personal reputation, not to resist obstinately the conviction of experience. But that physicians who are on the spot, daily witnesses of its ravages, of the rapidity of its progress, of its resistance to all remedies, of the violence and eccentricity of its symptoms, should obstinately adhere to the support of a paradox so extraordinary, is to give the lie to all experience, to commit their own honour and reputation, and that of their profession; it is, in fine, to impose on the public credulity. When we see physicians report every thing to the principle of fear, assign that as the sole cause of the disease, of its communicability, of the death of the sick, of the infinite number attacked; ascribe the cure of others to a character of resolution in the individual only, when perhaps the object was, either by age or sex, among the most timid :—when we

see them, I say, dwell on these ideas through so many pages, Can we resist a suspicion that prejudice, and not a sincere desire of instruction, influenced their pens?

I pass over what is said of bad food, and other causes of the disease; I will do the gentlemen the justice to believe, that they considered these as only occasional causes with regard to some particular persons. But after all, supposing this to have been the case in some instances, could any cause, relating only to some individuals, have given rise to, and continued a disease so general? Were they causes that could apply to all who were attacked? A first and original cause, it is true, is acknowledged in a pestilential leaven. In their Latin letter they make this issue from the fatal bales of merchandise brought from the Levant, applying to them the celebrated comparison of the box of Pandora. But their favourite fear, and other causes, are more frequently brought upon the stage than the pestilential leaven; every where the former plays the principal part, and the leaven seems only introduced here and there, by the bye, as acting an under part. What then can one think of their sentiments of the contagion? Besides that, we have seen them perpetually vary upon this subject, and deny one day what they had confessed another. But enough on this subject. If the death of 50,000 persons could not convince

them that a real contagion existed, it is impossible that all the reasonings in the world should do so.

It may be alleged, with an appearance of reason, that it is highly expedient to destroy in the minds of the people the great terror they had conceived of the contagious nature of the disease, which prevented their assisting one another. But granting that there is some plausibility in this argument ; on the other hand there is no occasion to run into the opposite extreme, which is not less contrary to the public good. To carry terror to an excess which leads to the total abandonment of the sick, is a barbarous cruelty ; to extend the fear of the contagion beyond the time and measures requisite to remove all reasonable apprehension of danger, is to disturb the public peace, and cause a general derangement in society : but on the other hand, to consider the plague as a common disease, and persuade people to deliver themselves up to it, without any precaution, is to expose not only the safety of the individual, but of the public at large. To deny the contagion, and inspire the people with a rash confidence, is to give occasion to all the disorders and misfortunes under the effects of which we still groan, and to endanger its spreading from a single town over the whole province, perhaps over the whole kingdom. In a matter of such importance nothing should be carried to excess ; and to avoid these extremes

on the subject of the contagion, we have only to reduce it within its just bounds, and establish upon facts, well constituted and ascertained, certain rules for the conduct of the people in the time of the plague. This is what the physicians might have done on this occasion, if they had been more united, and if, totally disengaged from all private views and prejudices, they had joined in a common treatise, in which fixed rules had been laid down for every thing which concerned the malady. This work would have been much more glorious for themselves and useful to the public, than such as give only false, or at least imperfect ideas of the plague, and in which nothing but petty private views are introduced. It is much to be wished that some one of those employed during the whole of the contagion, now freed from all other engagements, would answer the public expectation in such a work *.

As to what relates to terror of the malady, it is not in a vain philosophy that we must seek the motives proper to inspire men with the resolution of surmounting it. Religion affords a more sure and abundant source to excite the charity of the faithful, than all the specious reason-

* A very excellent work, corresponding to these ideas, was some years after published by Mons. le Chevalier d'Antrechaus, First Consul of Toulon, at the time of the plague there in the latter end of 1720 and beginning of 1721.

ings of a false speculation. Let the learned and the scientific point out those precautions which human prudence commands us to observe to avoid the evil; precautions which experience authorises, and religion permits : but at the same time be it inculcated, that we ought, if necessary, to lay down our lives for our brethren—that this is one of the highest and strongest obligations of Christian charity, a formal precept of the Author of our religion. Let them be excited to follow the example of the citizens of Alexandria, who, when the plague raged in that city, neglected not each other, but performed, with an undaunted resolution, all the offices of friendship and charity which the circumstances required, regardless of danger to themselves, while it was a question to assist a brother in distress; assured, that if here they should fall a sacrifice to their good works, their reward would be found in the bosom of a merciful and benevolent God.

Such are the motives which ought to be held out to excite the people to the performance of their duty; motives infinitely more powerful, and more proper to embolden and encourage them, than all the vain theories of a new-fangled system of medicine, which at best tend only to lull the mind, or rather the imagination, into a false security, but which are incapable of inspiring that heroic charity which places us above fear of danger, and death itself,

when a hope can be entertained of saving a brother.

This digression has appeared to us necessary to destroy an error, so much the more dangerous as it is supported by the authority of names so celebrated. We are far from wishing to detract from their merit, but we are desirous of paying the tribute we believe due to truth and sound reason. It is time now to return to our literary history.

CHAP. XXII.

Continuation of Works printed on the Plague.—New Discoveries.

TO appease the murmurs of the other foreign physicians and surgeons, Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny proposed to them a general union of all their observations, to compose jointly, and in a body, a succinct relation of the events of the plague. On this subject many conferences were held among these gentlemen, in which each one reported his observations; but it was impossible to come to any final arrangement. Whether this arose from being unable to settle the rank each should hold in the proposed work, or because the greater part of the observations made by the other physicians were in direct opposition to the five classes of Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, and to the method they proposed to follow in the succinct relation, from which they would by no means depart, cannot be decided—we only know the fact.

Mons. Deidier had already given his observations to the public, which are made with a great degree of exactitude. The inspection of the ex-

crements denotes a very scrupulous attention, and a great degree of composure on the part of the observer—but still he gives bad food, and terror of infection, as the causes of the malady, and the green hue of the excrements is urged in support of this idea. He is cautious, above all things, not to acknowledge the contagion,—it is an idea too common for him, and he leaves it to more common physicians. He gives afterwards several letters which he had written to different friends upon the malady. One to Mons. Montresse, physician of Valence; another to Mons. Fize, physician and professor of mathematics at Montpellier; another to Mons. Mauge, physician to the royal hospital at Strasbourg,—these two last are, with the exception of a very few words, copies one of the other,—an answer to Mons. Mauge, which is extremely well written; a letter from Mons. Montresse to Mons. Deidier, with the answer of the latter; and lastly, a letter from Mons. Fabre, physician of Martigues, to Mons. Deidier.

We cannot pretend to enter into a discussion of all the medical reasonings contained in these letters, they are repetitions of the same ideas—bad food, indigestion, terror.—One had gorged himself with figs, another had eaten bad bread, a third was struck with a panic, but no one had caught the disease by communication with another. It is every where the same obstinate disbelief with

regard to the contagion, and particularly of the infected merchandise. He explains the nature of the disease by a coagulation of the blood, and this coagulation is ascribed *to the causes that commonly occasion it*; but he is cautious never to enter into the original cause of all. In short, these letters are little else than a reciprocation of compliments which the physicians pay to each other, and which are very uninteresting to the public.

About the same time appeared in print a letter from Mons. Pons, physician, to Mons. Bon, first president of the court of accounts at Montpellier. This physician had the means of examining well the malady, as he was placed in the hospital of the Jeu-de-mail, where he exercised his talents with no less application than success. He establishes, in this letter, an analogy between the small-pox and the plague, and admits in the air the seeds both of the one and the other. This parallel is well supported, and, could it be verified, nothing more would be wanting to render the method of treating the plague as sure as that of treating the small-pox. But although this physician be so ingenuous as not to give this analogy as a new idea, but only as one which might strike every physician, and which each might explain after his manner, there were not wanted who imputed it to him as a crime, and who seemed

jealous of the honour it might possibly reflect upon him. Persons accustomed to arrogate every thing to themselves, and to endeavour constantly to detract from the merit of others, have laid claim to this idea as a theft made from them. It is very possible that we may even see an action commenced for this supposed robbery—the thing would not be without example *.

The next thing that appeared was the Observations of Mons. Maille, professor at Cahors, one of the three physicians sent from Paris. They are preceded by a letter to Mons. Calvet, his colleague and dean, to whom he addresses his Observations. The letter shows us at once the end he proposes, for it sets out with high-flown compliments to all those whose favour he seeks. After these eulogiums, he enters into a slight description of the state of our city, in which he fails not to arrogate to himself, like all the others, the glory of having banished the spirit of terror and pusillanimity from among us, of having re-animated our courage by his example, and inspired us with confidence in seeing a physician so courageously brave the supposed danger. Would not one suppose by this that he had visited all the sick in Marseilles? Can one see without emotion

* This letter of Mons. Pons has already been noticed in a former note.

a physician insult all the rest of the faculty so grossly by such an assumed bravado? After a very slight description of the malady, which he is cautious never once to name, he proceeds to some reasoning upon its cause. But this he cannot allow to be contagious miasms, brought in the merchandise from the Levant, for these two reasons:—

First, because, as he asserts, people enter the infected houses, handle the clothes of the dead, card and re-make the mattresses, without catching the distemper. How can any one dare to advance things so contrary to the truth? It was not by a simple touch, but by the use of the clothes infected, that the malady was communicated.

Secondly, because he does not know the action of these miasms—how they can act powerfully on other bodies, without being destroyed—how they can pass from one to the other, bearing every thing down before them, and carrying every where disorder and confusion. In all this, however, there appears nothing that is not easily to be comprehended, even by a very moderate capacity. But granting that this were not so, ought we to measure the powers of nature by the limits of our genius?—I cannot comprehend it, therefore it cannot be.—Can a professor offer this as a legitimate mode of reasoning? He chooses rather to find as causes of the malady, bad food, corn corrupted in the bottoms of the vessels, fruit, beans—why did he

not add pease? But if this physician had condescended to inform himself a little better of the state of our city, he might have known that there was no dearth of corn before the plague, nor even during its continuance, except what the circumstances occasioned, as has already been fully explained; and that the corrupted corn, of which he speaks, in the bottoms of the vessels, is never bought but for the pigs and fowls; that the convicts are the only people in the city of whom beans is the ordinary food;—yet these were not among the description of persons on whom the disease fell with the greatest fury. In short, it is every where the digestion troubled by terror, and the force of a disturbed imagination. On this footing nobody could have escaped the malady, since there was not an inhabitant of the town who did not feel a greater or a less degree of alarm. Was this gentleman himself wholly free from it? It was indeed by means of this very fear that so many saved themselves from the contagion.

The Observations contain nothing extraordinary, but the attention of the physician to follow the course of the disease day after day; for the rest, they are in the same story as the letter. If a mother dies in twenty-four hours, it is because she is occupied with the danger which menaces her son; and if the son is seized with a phrensy, it is because he is terrified at the death of his

mother. Verily, fear is a powerful weapon in the hands of these gentlemen—it is the main spring which sets the whole machine in motion; but they dare not bite at the apple, and tell us whence arose this fear in the first that fell sick, or what occasioned it in infants. But indigestion!—indigestion!—Will they have the goodness then to tell us by what singular fatality the indigestions of 1720 produced the plague, while those of other years produce only common diseases?—How it happens that it was produced in two towns separated from each other by a third, which escaped the disorder? If they join a general cause, which gives the tone and action to the ordinary causes, let them name it, if they wish us to subscribe to it. In short, throughout this work the words plague and contagion never once occur, the author is uniformly on his guard against them. As he sent these Observations into his own country, he feared, doubtless, that the words would have carried terror along with them, and consequently the disease.

All the works of the physicians plainly demonstrate, that they had any other ends in view in what they wrote rather than to elucidate the subject of the malady, and that they only followed the cue which had been given them; so that the plague now became a field of conquest, in which every one believed himself to have a right to

make excursions. Two merchants, become idle by the suspension of their commerce, took it into their heads to scrutinize the ideas of the physicians, in a little work entitled, *The popular system of the plague*. It consists of divers letters which these gentlemen write to each other. The two first turn principally upon those hacknied jokes so often passed on physicians and their art, when people have no need of either. In these they expose the inconsistencies and variations of the physicians in their opinions upon the disease ; and in the third they explain the popular system, which consists in believing that the plague, being an infliction from Heaven, is not less above the reach of human knowledge than above that of remedies. They prove the first of these positions, viz. That the plague is an infliction from Heaven, by the Holy Scriptures ; and the second, by the confession of the physicians themselves, and the very small number of cures they performed. They reproach them with not having been able to save even such of their own faculty as were attacked, since so many in the different branches of it perished. They confine themselves for all remedy to a simple ptisane, or a light cordial, according to the practice of the Levant, where the plague is familiar ; and support their idea by the reflection, that this being a disease which attacks the poor much more than the rich, it demands nothing but nourishing

food and the most simple medicines; as if God had been pleased to proportion the remedies to their means, and point out to us that he reserves the cure to himself, and would have it sought only from him.

Such was this *Popular system of the plague*. A work which made such a direct attack upon the faculty could not be expected to do so with impunity. An ecclesiastic of Marseilles undertook the defence of the body; and there came out on both sides a number of squibs and little effusions, which extremely diverted the public for a long time.

An adversary infinitely more formidable against this *Popular system* was Mons. Boyer, physician to the marine at Toulon, who very early in the contagion had sent us a Dissertation on the Plague at Marseilles, in which he attributes it entirely to vitriolic salts. But of this work we shall not give any account, since it was not printed here. This physician, whether it were that having read the *Popular system*, he could not bear to see a profane presume to penetrate into the arcana of the science, or that he was desirous of combating an error respecting the contagion, which began to spread itself in his city as well as here—this physician sent us from Toulon, where he was shut up in the arsenal, a work entitled: *Refutation of the antient opinions respecting the plague*. It is

written, as he pretends, expressly to destroy the infantine prejudices and the public credulity on this subject, and to combat the popular errors, which he reduces to four :

1st, That the plague is a scourge from Heaven, which ravages the people against whom the anger of the Lord is irritated.

2dly, That it is a cruel malady which cannot be cured.

3dly, That it is contagious.

4thly, That the only preservatives against it are fire and flight.

The falsehood of these four positions this author undertakes to demonstrate ; and he displays in pompous terms to the eyes of all Provence, the abuses which arise from like prepossessions. He attacks the first article, by the difference of the times in which we live to those of which the Holy Scriptures treat. “ We are no longer,” he says, “ under the reign of David—the plague which then desolated Judea lasted three days, that of Marseilles ten months—besides, particular circumstances gave occasion to the one, which existed not with regard to the other.”

On the second head, he says : “ Who will dare to deny that the plague is a common malady ?—Are not all the countries of the East infected with it ?—Are those of the North exempt from it ?”—He supports these reasonings by comparisons from

peripneumonies, malignant fevers, the small-pox, &c.—“ These are,” says he, “ so many plagues, which cause no alarm because we are accustomed to their ravages,”—and then he exclaims, “ What blindness !”—He will see this blindness cease, when we behold him cure the plague with the same facility as other diseases. He proceeds afterwards to describe the evils occasioned by the popular terror of the plague, and calls it a chaos, in which every one rushes forward to his own destruction. He insists that it is a common disease, well understood, and by no means incurable ; and launches into a furious diatribe against all who dare insinuate the contrary. This is the man who would correct popular errors and prejudices.

On the third head, the infectious nature of the plague, which he acknowledges to be the most difficult to combat, he brings arguments which he seems to regard as perfectly victorious. 1st, The Latin letter of Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, which denies the contagion—but is not this what would be called in the schools begging the question ? 2dly, He urges the example of those two gentlemen, who, having freely communicated with the sick, yet escaped the disease ;—but for these two who escaped, in spite of communication, how many might be adduced that fell victims to it ? 3dly, He cites the city of Arras, which was ravaged by the plague in the year 1654, without its having had

any intercourse with the Levant. But can the plague be brought from no other part of the globe? —He himself cites one a few pages after, which broke out in the same city in 1710, which he says began from eating mushrooms. We pass over other reasonings equally forcible; we only observe, that, having combated for a long time the idea of contagion, he at length begins a little to retract, and owns in some measure the danger; restraining, however, within certain bounds the degree of communication necessary for catching the disease; and asserts, that it can only be taken by inhabiting the same house, by eating and drinking together, and by touching each other.—What more than such a concession could the most zealous advocates for the contagion demand? From this chain of reasoning he draws the result, that the fear of a communication ill-understood ought not to prevent our performing our duty. This proposition, he says, no one can censure.—That is true; but what follows deserves a very severe censure—that bad food was the original occasion of the plague, which was continued and kept alive by fear. This is to be the mere echo of Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, with whom the idea originated.

He pursues in the same style the insufficiency of the two ordinary preservatives against the contagion—fire and flight. We will freely concede the former to him, provided he will yield the latter to us.

This physician had sufficient opportunity to put his principles to the proof, by the breaking out of the plague at Toulon ; but the ravages it made in that town certainly did not speak very highly in their favour.

This treatise of Mons. Boyer's did not remain long unanswered. Mons. Peyssonnel, a young physician of Marscilles, undertook its refutation, and followed it step by step, in a work entitled : *A dissertation on the old and new opinions respecting the plague.* This title must not, however, be taken in all its strictness, since the author does not go very far back for his materials. He contents himself principally with some very common but sensible reasonings, upon the four heads of Mons. Boyer. These he regards as the modern opinions, and controverts them by the popular sentiments, which he regards as the antient ; and, after balancing the *pros* and the *cons* on both sides, he declares for the latter. If we ought to applaud the emulation of young persons desirous to give early proofs of their zeal and application to study, it is our duty also to observe to them, that these premature productions, which they have not allowed themselves sufficient time to digest properly, and which do not fully answer the expectations given by a pompous title, always show a want of justness and precision. This work, however, obtained a high reputation in Marseilles,

since it favoured the popular opinion. Mons. Boyer alone regarded it, "as the vain effort of a pigmy, unworthy of his anger or of refutation." Not in the same light did the physician of the marine at Toulon regard Mons. Deidier : a literary warfare arose between these two gentlemen, which was carried on for some time by very acrimonious letters written on both sides, which stole into circulation among the public ; and we may say with truth, that this scene was not among the least amusing of those which the physicians furnished for some time to the city.

This mania of writing descended even to brother Victorin, queteur* of the reformed Augustins, who, not content with the immortality he expected above, but sighing equally after immortality here below, sought to acquire it by writing upon the plague under the form of a letter addressed to one of his friends. This brother had indeed already shown other talents than those requisite for a queteur, but the public had yet to learn that he was skilled in physics and chemistry. In his letter he proposes to explain the nature of the plague, the remedies proper for its cure, and the best means of preservation against it. He enumerates several different sorts of plagues which afflict mankind, animals, and even plants. These he attri-

* The queteur is the person whose office it is to go about collecting benefactions and contributions to the society.

butes principally to mineral exhalations ; but the plague of Marseilles he considers as arising from the infected merchandise brought from the Levant. It was not possible for a lay-brother to rise above these common ideas. He explains the nature of the malady and its cause, by an acrid volatile salt, of a nature vitriolic and arsenical, which coagulates the blood ; and to counteract this, he only requires a remedy proper to destroy this venomous salt, which he believes to have found in mercury, combining it with other remedies according to the symptoms which arise in each individual patient, such as sudorifics, absorbents, and evaculatory medicines. This gives him occasion to run over the good and bad qualities of different preparations of mercury, amongst which he places æthiops mineral and cinnabar ; and he finishes by preferring the latter to the former. *We know not by what means this brother had acquired so accurate an acquaintance with the nature of mercury.* He pursues his investigations by the manner of treating the tumours, and supports his method by his own experience, and by the manner in which he treated some sick whom he had cured. At length he comes to the preservatives, which he places in avoiding cautiously all commerce with persons infected ; in the use of nourishing food ; of medicines proper to render the blood fluid ; and in the use of fumigations. Although this work be somewhat irregular, it may

be said that the name of the author enhances the value. I know not, however, whether it may not well be placed on a parallel with the others—I know at least that it has in general obtained the preference with the public.

After these, Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny and Mons. Deidier took their leave of us by a last work, which each left at their departure. The former, in a letter from Mons. la Moniere, physician at Lyons, with their answer, which they left with the printer at their departure; and the latter, in a singular discovery which he communicated as a parting legacy to the constituted authorities of the city.

The letters of Mons. Chycoineau, &c., turn, like the others, principally on compliments mutually exchanged between these physicians, and a resolute adherence to the principles they had advanced—terror and fear.—These are placed in their most glaring lights, and the pretended contagion laid in absolute ruins at their feet. A first cause, which shakes all the others, is indeed acknowledged; but a profound silence is observed on the nature of this cause; it is only stated to be the same as that of all other epidemic diseases. But enough is said on ground already so often gone over.

Mons. Deidier's legacy was of a nature much more curious, and contained much more of no-

velty. He not only labours for the future, but carries his researches even into the past. Mons. Pons had indeed somewhat anticipated him on this ground. He discovers that the plague was in Marseilles not only before the month of May 1720, when the vessel to which we ascribe our misfortunes arrived, but even in the preceding year 1719. To support this hypothesis, he rummaged our mortuary registers of that year, where he asserts to have found that several persons had died of the plague; he likewise made researches in different families, by which he discovered, that during the same period many men, women, and even children, had shown symptoms of this disease. To support the first assertion, he cites the sudden death of several persons of consequence which had happened in 1719, and says that these sudden deaths were the forerunners of the plague. If this be true, it must be owned that the plague had been very slow in its progress, and we may well say with Horace: "That the punishment which overtakes the guilty is so much the more terrible in proportion as it is long suspended and slow to arrive."—In support of the second assertion, he gives us a long list of every body who had a boil or a pimple in any part of their body during that year, of the rise, progress, and termination of which he gives a most ample and exact detail. Unfortunate inhabitants of

Marseilles ! how long did ye nourish the plague in your bosom without being aware of it !

Mons. Deidier pursues his ideas on two different grounds. He employs by turns experiments and reasonings to prove that the plague, which was scarcely acknowledged by his colleagues in the month of August, was actually in Marseilles even in the preceding year. The apothecary of the hospital of the Jeu-de-mail had made some experiments upon dogs. He injected into the veins of some, the bile of persons infected with the plague, and inserted it into wounds which he had made expressly for that purpose in others. These animals, as he said, soon fell sick, and died in three or four days with tumours like the human beings. This bile, mixed with spirit of vitriol, became of a grass green,—it became black with spirit of nitre,—and salt or oil of tartar restored it to its natural yellow colour. He perceived that a dog belonging to the hospital had frequently caught up knots which had been taken from the infected and eaten them, and that he had also licked up the blood and matter which issued from the wounds, yet had never appeared to have caught the disease. Into this same animal he injected some of the bile of the diseased, and he immediately fell sick and died like the others.

Having communicated these experiments to Mons. Deidier, the latter judged them of a nature

to support his system, and thought immediately of making the best use possible of so notable a discovery. He built upon it a series of twelve observations, in which he pretends to demonstrate :

1st, That the plague resides in a greenish bile. And 2dly, That the bad food which produces this bile is the sole cause of the plague.

From these two principles he draws two consequences—the first, that neither the air nor infected merchandise could have produced this malady ; and, secondly, that the plague was in Marseilles before the month of May, consequently before the arrival of captain Chataud's vessel. We have only to follow the author through all his reasonings on these two principles, to be convinced that they are no less fallacious than the consequences he draws from them.

The reasons which support the first principle are, that the bile alone injected into the veins of a dog, or insinuated into a wound made for the purpose, inoculated him with the plague precisely marked in all its symptoms. Granted that it be true that the bile thus injected produced this effect,—Has the same experiment ever been made with any of the other humours of the diseased ? and how is it known that the same effect would not have been produced by them ?—Was this experiment more difficult than the other ?—and how

could it escape a physician who sought to establish a new system, which he could not erect on foundations too strong? Will he tell us that the experiment of the dog at the hospital, who licked up the blood and matter of the infected, supersedes the necessity of all other experiments?—We answer to this, that in the hospital of the galleys was a dog who licked from time to time the dressings taken from the wounds of the diseased. In a short time he fell sick, a tumour appeared upon the groin, and it was then judged proper to shoot him.

If it be permitted me to make use of the famous comparison of the small-pox with the plaguc, the honour of which so many persons are so ambitious of engrossing to themselves—is it not well known that the small-pox is communicated by injecting a small quantity of the *variolous* matter into an incision made for the purpose, and the disorder appears a short time after?—What then shall we say of the dog who licked up the infected humours without appearing incommoded, and who afterwards received the plague on the bile being injected?—What shall we say but that, being accustomed by degrees to the infected aliments, he received no impression from them, like those who by degrees accustom themselves to opium and the most active poisons, and that the bile injected immediately into his blood must of course make a

much stronger impression on his whole system, than infected food, which sustains an alteration in the stomach.

A second argument alleged by Mons. Deidier in support of his hypothesis that the plague resides in a greenish bile is, that in all the dogs to whom the plague had been communicated by injection, on opening the bodies the gall bladder was found full of this bile. The answer to this is obvious. If it was the injected bile that occasioned the dogs to fall sick, that which was found in their gall-bladders could not be the cause of the disease; it was only the effect. The same may be said of the bile found in the gall-bladders of the human bodies that were opened—why was this not the *effect* of the disease as well in them as in the dogs?—Let us here remark by the by, that in the twelve observations the author fails not to have found in the bodies he examined, that the heart and the other *viscera* were engorged with a black blood, thickened by this greenish bile, without paying any attention to the circumstance that these persons died suddenly, and that this engorgement is always found in all cases of sudden death, or of death after a very short sickness, whether of the plague or any other disease. This, however, as well as all the other circumstances observed on opening the bodies, are accommodated to the system Mons. Deidier labours to establish; and we are therefore

authorised in the belief, that the observations were made with no more exactitude, and with the same prejudices as those in which it was discovered that the blood of the diseased was always coagulated, of which Mons. Chycoineau speaks in his work.

If we submit the experiments and principles of the author to the test of just reasoning, we shall find them in direct opposition to the economy according to which these humours are produced and distributed in the human body. For if in a person sick of the plague there is nothing but this greenish bile produced by bad food which is infected, and that all the other humours remain in their natural state of purity, how is it possible that bad food could corrupt the bile to this degree without communicating some part of its noxious quality to the blood, from which it separates itself in its ordinary course; and by what channel could all the infection of the blood pass into the bile and the gall-bladder without communicating some part of this corruption to the other humours, which separate themselves from the blood by nearly the same mechanism as the bile?—If the matter which issues from the wounds of a person afflicted with the plague be free from infection and cannot communicate the disease, how is it that the suppuration of these wounds contributes so essentially to its cure, and that in proportion as this suppuration increases, the other symptoms of the disease visibly

diminish?—If the tumour be the crisis of the disease, as the author says in his printed letters, how can this be, if the morbid humour does not evaporate itself by the suppuration of the tumour?—and if it evaporate itself by this means, how is it possible that the matter suppurated is not infected, and does not communicate the infection?—In short, if this greenish bile be the sole original cause of the disease, it ought to be also of all the symptoms it produces, and should mingle itself with the thick lymph which this sort of tumours produces; and could it do this without imparting to it its infectious nature?—An author so fertile in new discoveries, and so ingenious in drawing from them consequences favourable to his system, will no doubt easily reconcile these trifling contradictions, and smooth difficulties which would be embarrassing to any other but himself.

To make us subscribe to the second principle, “that the bad food which produced this greenish bile was the sole cause of the plague,” the author ought to have demonstrated how it could happen that the bad food of the preceding year should so have corrupted the bile as to give us the plague, since we have passed many times years of much greater dearth and sterility without being afflicted with this scourge. In 1709, both were extreme; the cold of the winter was so excessive, and the juices of the plants were so thickened by it, that

they almost all died. Yet this dearth, joined to the general disorder of the elements, and indeed of all nature, produced nothing but common malignant fevers very different from the disease in question, since the same remedies which were found very efficacious in the sickness of that time, have proved extremely hurtful, not to say absolutely mortal, in the present instance. But we shall soon be satisfied on that head. He who knows how to accommodate to his system the circumstances observed on opening the bodies, cannot find any difficulty in arranging the revolutions of the seasons according to his ideas. The following extract from his series of observations will show how he draws himself out of this embarrassment :

“ In 1719, there was a dearth of corn occasioned by the irregularity of the seasons ; and, during the four months which preceded the plague, the people of Marseilles ate bread made of corn from the Levant, mingled with a third of barley, oats, or rye. In the summer of 1719, the heat and the drought were excessive in Lower Provence, there was scarcely any harvest of corn, and very little wine and oil. During these heats, which lasted the months of June, July, and August, there was scarcely any wind, and the little there was constantly blew from the east, and was very hot. The juices of the plants were not suffi-

ciently nourished, the pores of the skin of the inhabitants were so opened by a continual perspiration, that both the blood of the human race and the juices of the plants were deprived of that serosity with which they are accustomed to charge themselves to preserve their natural fluidity. In the months of September, October, and November of the same year, there fell immense quantities of rain, with furious west winds; above all, on the 8th and 20th of September, and the 19th of November. These rains restored in some measure the blood of the men and the juices of the plants, but, being accompanied with very stormy winds, they were not capable of entirely counteracting the preceding derangement. It is to this irregularity of the seasons, which occasioned such a thickening of the blood, that we ought to attribute the habit of body which rendered the constitution so liable to receive the plague, while the vicious nature of the bile which finished to produce it, was no doubt formed by repeated indigestions, which the badness of the food, united with the passions of the soul, above all those of fear and terror, had occasioned."

It should appear from this, that the author had either compiled his work upon very erroneous information, or had taken no other authority than the almanack of Marseilles for the year 1719. He who could dare to put forth a fable so ill-

constructed, must reckon much upon the credulity of the public.—I say an ill-constructed fable, for what other name can we give to the strange arrangement which the author has made of our seasons, so little conformable with the truth, and so little capable, supposing it true, of producing the effect he describes. These vain assertions do not deserve refutation; the testimony of numbers yet living is sufficient to destroy them. We will content ourselves only with controverting a part of his reasoning. He says, “that the rains of autumn were not capable of counteracting entirely the thickening of the blood and juices of the plants produced by the heats of summer, because they were mixed with winds extremely stormy.” Does he mean by this that the winds, in dispersing the rain, prevented its falling on the earth?—But they ought at least to cause some change in our bodies, by means of that which they occasion in the air. Let him explain to us further, how it happened that the derangement produced in our humours by the heats in the summer of 1719, and the bad food of that same year, did not produce the plague till July 1720. If I dared recall his attention to his own Hippocrates, he would see there that the derangement which the irregularity of any season produces in our humours, manifests itself constantly in the season immediately following. But we had no epidemic ma-

lady either in the autumn, the winter, or the spring which followed this summer of 1719; they were even more than usually healthy. This we assert not upon the faith of others; it is on our own experience that we dare vouch for the truth of the assertion.

From these principles, so ill established, there could only result consequences yet more false. The first is, “that neither the air nor infected merchandise can produce the plague:”—and this consequence is supported by the following reasoning: “Of all the animals which breathe the same air, man alone is attacked by the plague. Now, by the experiments above cited, it is plainly proved that dogs are susceptible of receiving the disorder; yet no dog was attacked. A clear proof this that the disorder came not from the air, but from some other cause, which could only be bad food, since that alone was capable of attacking the bile preferably to the other humours.”—Let me be permitted here to retort his own argument upon the professor. Dogs are nourished with the same aliments as man; every dog is susceptible of the plague; it follows, then, that the same aliments which gave the plague to man, ought to have given it also to the dogs. After this, let us give him quarter for the rest, and grant him free leave to dwell as much as he pleases on the hypothesis, that

bad food attacks the bile preferably to all the other humours.

The second consequence is, "that the plague was in Marseilles before the month of May 1720, consequently before the arrival of captain Chataud's vessel."—The proof of this, according to him, is decisive. Let us state and examine it. He lays down as a principle in the first of his twelve observations, "that the bubos, the carbuncles, the parotis, &c. are essential and distinctive symptoms of the plague at Marseilles."—Afterwards, in his ninth and tenth observations, he proves that there were many persons in the months of April, May, and June, 1720, and even in the year 1719, who had these different sorts of tumours. He even names the persons, with the streets they inhabited, and the history of their maladies, with the same confidence as if he had attended them himself. From thence he concludes that these people had the plague, consequently that the plague was in Marseilles before the arrival of captain Chataud's vessel. He might with equal reason have concluded that the plague was in all parts of the kingdom, since there are few towns where persons are not to be found every year with this sort of tumours.

But since we have here to combat a professor, let us reduce his reasoning into some form, that

we may convince him it is in effect nothing but an absolute paralogism. He will surely not judge it *mal-à-propos* that we recall to his mind the rules of argumentation, of which a person of science and learning cannot be ignorant. His argument is, "that bubos, carbuncles, &c. were the essential and distinctive symptoms of the plague at Marseilles. Since then there were persons in Marseilles who had this sort of tumours before the month of May, it follows that the plague was in the city before that month."—Without entering into a jargon which would be understood by very few persons, let us content ourselves with directing the attention of the professor to the art of thinking, where he will find that his argument is nothing but one of the grossest of sophisms, the viciousness of which glares in the eyes even of those who have no idea of logic ; for all this reasoning turns only upon the proposition that these tumours were the essential and distinctive symptoms of the plague at Marseilles. But he ought to have added to this all the other symptoms and accidents of the malady—the numbers attacked by it at the same time, and all with the same disease, the death of so large a majority of those who were attacked, its communication from one to the other ; in one word, its contagious nature, and the dreadful mortality it occasioned :—such was the true and essential character of the plague at Marseilles. This idea of

the disease, the only one which is perfectly correct, once posed, all the rest of the professor's reasoning falls of itself. For, in the first place, we see that the sick cited in his eleventh observation had nothing but simple tumours, unconnected with any other of those dreadful symptoms, and unattended with any of the dreadful consequences, which really characterized the plague at Marseilles. The author, besides, never saw any of these patients himself; he speaks of them only on the testimony of others, who perhaps had not themselves visited the objects, but spoke likewise merely on report. To this suspicious kind of testimony I dare oppose a witness whose probity and experience cannot be called in question. This is the physician who served in the Hotel Dieu in the months of April, May, and June, 1720; who had besides one of the most extensive wards in the hospital of La Misericorde, and who joined to this a great deal of practice in the city. He has assured me, that in none of these places was there the least appearance of the plague before the month of July, 1720. All the other physicians of the city assert the same fact. But I have stopped too long to combat reasonings which fall of themselves, and to destroy facts which have the public testimony of the whole city against them.

Here, then, we have the mystery discovered. This last work of Mons. Decidier discloses it, and

foils all the address practised by the other physicians to keep it in concealment. So many new systems invented upon the plague, so many ingenious fictions upon its causes, so many discoveries upon the dead bodies accommodated both to the one and the other, so many letters printed, so many observations so artificially arranged, so many experiments so well connected, so many little works given to the public, who did not desire them; in short, so many labours and pains as Messieurs the physicians of Montpellier have been pleased to give themselves,—all this has at last tended to nothing but to persuade us that the plague was in Marseilles before the month of May, consequently before the arrival of captain Chataud's vessel; and that it could not, therefore, be brought by the persons or the merchandise which came in that ship. This, however, they did not judge proper to disclose till their departure; and till then we knew not what to think of the malady,

When we see learned physicians, who are not deficient either in knowledge or experience, putting forth opinions so extraordinary, and affecting to recur to them every moment in their works, we know not what opinion to form, and are but confirmed in our original prejudices, “that the plague is equally above the knowledge of the faculty, and their remedies.”—At present, however, that their views appear more clearly, our surprise ceases; we

see plainly of what it is a question, and we leave every one at entire liberty to form his own judgment upon the matter.

It must be confessed, however, that we have great obligations to the physicians of Montpellier; they have opened our eyes, they have taught us to know the plague: we have nothing now to fear from our commerce with the Levant, our Lazaretto is become useless, and we have no longer occasion to take such troublesome and fatiguing precautions against infected persons and merchandise. The plague cannot be brought to us from suspected countries; it can only resume its ravages, according to Mons. Pons, when the time appointed by Providence for the vegetation of the fatal seeds of the plague sown in the air shall arrive; or, according to Mons. Deidier, when bad food and the irregularity of the seasons shall infect our bile, and give it a greenish hue. Of this they assure us; and when such a misfortune shall again arrive, we have nothing to do but to arm ourselves with courage and fortitude, to banish fear from our bosoms, and we are above the reach of danger;—such is the assurance of Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny. And if, spite of this animating assurance, we still cannot rise above this unhappy terror, we have nothing to do but to beg Mons. Maille to come and re-animate our confidence by his example. If, in short, notwithstanding all this good

counsel and assistance we are at length attacked by the disease, we have ample grounds of consolation in the discovery of Mons. Deidier, that it resides only in the bile, and we have nothing to do but to take a little salt of tartar to restore the bile from its greenish hue to its natural yellow colour, and the disease is cured. Behold us, then, assured against such desolation as we have lately had the misfortune to experience, and the plague is from this time the easiest of all diseases both to prevent and to cure.

Such are the works and the discoveries to which the plague gave occasion; in spite of which it is neither better known, nor is likely to be less fatal in its ravages, than formerly. We learn from them only that all these physicians speak the same language, and nearly in the same tone. They had apparently the same reasons, and were actuated by the same motives. There was not one among them except Mons. Bouthillier and Mons. Labadie, who entertained contrary sentiments, and for that reason they did not write. They, however, failed not to labour in their vocation with the utmost zeal and assiduity, which was crowned with the happiest success. This is a testimony we hold it our duty to bear to them.

CHAP. XXIII.

General purification of the houses.

WHILE the physicians and literati amused themselves with writing on the plague, Mons. de Langeron, the commandant, and the other magistrates, were employed in a manner much more important and useful to the public. Very far from giving into the opinions of the foreign physicians, that there was no such thing as contagion, they wisely considered that it was not sufficient to have laboured to arrest the dreadful ravages it was making; it was no less important to take all possible measures to prevent the renewal of similar horrors. In this the prudent sagacity of our commandant was particularly distinguishable. As nothing was more likely to revive the contagion than the infected houses and clothes, it became now one of the principal objects of his attention to purify them from infection; nor did he forget the churches, the vaults of which, as we have already stated, had been filled with dead bodies during the height of the mortality.

Such a general purification was an enterprise both difficult and arduous. To destroy all latent sparks of infection in a large city, where very few houses had escaped without some sick; to purify the furniture and clothes which had served the sufferers, or even remained in the houses; to render the house itself wholesome and safe to inhabit, was no light matter. Nor were less prudence and cautious circumspection requisite to devise the means of purifying the churches, and their vaults, from the infection of such numbers of dead bodies: besides, what was thus difficult to arrange, was no less painful to execute. We proceed to show the measures pursued to accomplish this purpose.

Mons. de Langeron addressed himself first to Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, to know what were the best means of purification. These gentlemen remitted him a long memoir on the manner of purifying first the persons themselves, then the streets, the houses, the churches, and all sorts of clothes, linen, furniture, utensils, &c. &c. I cannot help remarking here, that in this memoir we no longer see those hardy and courageous physicians who absolutely deny the contagion, who say that the plague does not communicate itself, not even in approaching the sick, and attending upon them ever so closely. On the contrary, we here see persons timid almost to excess,

and impressed with the strongest apprehensions lest a single spark of contagion should remain in the city, and relume the flame which had raged with such violence; lest some pestilential corpuscle scattered in the air, or adhering to the walls or furniture, should spread abroad its baleful influence, and renew the horrors which had but that moment ceased. Never were greater precautions recommended, or greater variety of means proposed. The four elements were pressed into the service; fire, air, water, and lime, which holds the place of earth; perfumes and aromatics, things sour and things strong, vinegar, above all, in profusion; nothing that the most zealous advocates for the contagion could have devised to counteract it, was omitted by these gentlemen who had combated its existence so warmly. As a proof of their scrupulous and minute attention to this purification, we extract a single article of their memoir *verbatim et literatim*, which will serve as a specimen to judge of the rest:

“As to the horses, asses, mules, &c. it seems to be sufficient that they should be washed often in the river, made to swim, and at coming out be well rubbed. It would, perhaps, not be amiss to add fumigating them in the stables, paying the utmost attention to the saddles and packs, which should be well beaten, and afterwards fumigated.”

Could the most credulous in the contagion have said more? After this, with what sort of countenance can these physicians dare to preach that there is no such thing as contagion? It must be owned, that in doing so they sport alike with the profession and the credulity of the public.

A memoir was at the same time received from Mons. Chirac upon fumigations. This learned physician remarks, very properly, that great caution ought to be observed not to use for this purpose any dangerous drugs, such as arsenic, realgar, and others of a like nature: "for these," he says, "are incorrigible in their nature, and would produce an infection of a different species, but no less to be feared than the plague." In lieu of these he recommends to substitute aromatic plants and shrubs, which grow in abundance about Marseilles.

On this it was deliberated whether the preparation commonly used in the city for fumigation, and which had also been long in use in the lazaretto, and in which these drugs were introduced, should now be employed, or whether the fumigation should be performed simply with gunpowder. This last expedient had been proposed by a merchant of the city, who had formerly dabbled a little in pharmacy, and had amassed a considerable sum of money, in 1709, by an essence which he sold for the malignant fevers so

prevalent in that year. He ventured even to present a memoir on this subject, in which he pretended to prove, that gunpowder lighted in an apartment drives out all the infected air, which is replaced instantly by the entrance of an air wholly new and pure.

It is obvious from this that he was not deeply versed in physics. A pinch of this powder lighted in an apartment, can only rarefy the air it already contains, it cannot chase the air entirely; besides, its effect is too hasty, and the smoke it produces is too soon dispersed to purge the room of infection. Another person proposed to wash the walls, cielings, and floors of the rooms with vinegar, without considering that lime is both much cheaper and much more proper to destroy the contagious miasms. It besides embellishes and gives an air of cleanliness to the houses, while vinegar would leave an appearance of dirtiness. It might be further asked, where was a sufficient quantity of vinegar to be procured for washing all the houses of such a city as Marseilles?

The first step taken in this arduous affair was to mark with a red cross every house in which there had been any sick. It was then that the dreadful ravages the disease had made were fully manifested. Not a street was free from these disastrous testimonies of the mortality, and in very few even a single house was exempt from them. The

first sight of these marks occasioned the most cruel and melancholy reflections, in retracing to the mind all the horrors of one of the most dreadful massacres any age or nation had ever experienced. This done, on the 30th of December, 1720, the commandant published an ordonnance for the general purification, with regulations for the manner in which it should be performed. The usual commissaries of each district in the parishes were charged with the superintendence of this important affair; and lest complaisance, or any other motive, might lead them to omit any house, or any effects, by the same ordonnance general commissaries were appointed for each parish. The commissaries were divided into four companies, and each company had a certain number of persons appointed under them for the execution of their orders; these were chosen from among such as had recovered from the disease. A person of confidence was likewise allotted to each company, who entered with them into the houses, to see that the orders were punctually executed, and to prevent all thefts and pilferings.

These companies began their work, each one in his respective department, early in the month of January. The ordonnance left persons at liberty to purify their houses and effects themselves if they chose it, with the reserve that they should always be subject to the inspection of the com-

missaries. In houses where the inhabitants had availed themselves of this permission, the commissaries consequently only visited from time to time, that, if any thing had been omitted in the order prescribed for the purification, it might be immediately corrected. But since the greater part of the inhabitants were either too poor or too negligent to undertake this task, it was done by the companies appointed, and their labour was not trifling.

Those destined to the actual labour entered the house with the person of confidence at their head ; all the clothes, linen, mattresses, &c. &c. were thrown out of the window, every thing, in short, of which they could thus disencumber themselves. Of these, whatever was not worth preserving was burned in the nearest square, the rest were set apart for the process they were to undergo. Three fumigations were then performed in each room : one with aromatic herbs and plants, another with gunpowder, and the third with the preparation in common use ; the large furniture, such as bedsteads, tables, commodes, &c. remaining in the rooms to receive the fumigation. The house was then well cleaned from one end to the other, and the walls and cielings were afterwards washed with two or three coats of lime.

The commissaries in ordinary had each in his respective district a warehouse, in which were

deposited such clothes, linen, mattresses, &c. as were judged worth preserving, with tickets affixed to every article, marking the house to which it belonged; and an exact list of them was always kept, above all of those which belonged to houses entirely deserted. All these things were afterwards carried in carts to a place assigned without the city, where they were well washed by persons appointed for the purpose who had recovered from the disease, with inspectors at their head, to watch over every thing, and see that the things were sufficiently purified, and the proper tickets preserved on each. Afterwards these clothes were carried to another warehouse, whence they were delivered by the commissaries to their respective owners, each commissary being charged to receive the money required for the purifying them, which the city had advanced. The same officers were also charged with collecting the money for the purification of the houses, from those who had the means of bearing the expense themselves: of those who were too poor to pay, the city bore the charge.

We have already said, that permission was granted for each individual to purify his own house and effects, if he should desire it. This permission was at first only extended to the 15th of January; and if those who had declared for availing themselves of it, had not purified their

houses by that time, the charge devolved to the commissaries, and the effects were confiscated to the use of the hospitals. But since this term was afterwards judged too short for a work so tedious and laborious, the time was extended to the end of the month, after which the effects were irrevocably forfeited. These orders were too precise, and it was too much the interest of the parties concerned to conform to them, to permit of their being neglected, and the purification was performed with the utmost exactness. As soon as any house was purified, it was marked with a white cross, which seemed to efface the horror the red had inspired. If, after the purification, any one fell sick in the house, that, as well as the clothes and effects, was sentenced to undergo the same process a second time, with equal precision and exactitude.

On the 6th of January, 1721, the commandant issued another ordonnance for a like purification of the bastides. The commissaries of the territory, with the captains of the several quarters, were charged with the inspection of this work, and it was performed with the same exactness as in the city.

There yet remained another object which no less claimed the attention of the commandant. As the greater part of our merchants make a sort of warehouse of the vestibules of their houses,

and as in flying the town they had abandoned every thing to the care of servants, it was much to be feared, and no less to be presumed, that the servants might have lain down on these bales while labouring under the disease, since it is one of its properties to give a restlessness, and a desire in the patients to throw themselves down on any thing they find. In effect, persons had been found dead on the staircases, and in all parts of the houses. There were besides many vessels in the port laden with different kinds of merchandise, the departure of which had been prevented by the breaking out of the contagion. Many of the owners of these vessels with their families had taken refuge in them; where being attacked with the disorder, they too had lain down on the bales. Our commandant, who carried his views into every part where there was a possibility that the malady could have extended its baleful exhalations, published an ordonnance on the 16th of December, by which, in conformity with the consultation he had held with the intendants of health, he ordered that all these goods should be carried, by boats appointed for that purpose, to the islands near Marseilles, together with the sails of the ships, to be there fumigated and purified, under the inspection of the intendants of health, and at the expense of the owners, the city making the advances. This ordonnance also enjoined all individuals, as well as the patrons of

the vessels, and the seamen, to denounce all suspected goods, under very severe penalties. These injunctions were executed with the utmost exactness; and by such wise precautions there was no less security by sea than by land against the return of the contagion.

The last thing that remained was the disinfection of the churches and vaults. My lord bishop, who had nothing so much at heart as to put the churches into a state to be speedily opened, issued an ordonnance on the 25th of January, by which the manner of purifying the churches was regulated. It forbade, at the same time, the opening of the vaults, and interdicted the use of the cemeteries, where many had been buried, ordering new ones to be made in all the parishes. The echevins, considering the purification of the churches as their province, issued out their orders also for the purpose. This formed a sort of contest between them and the bishop, which, however, was soon accommodated, since both parties had the same end in view—the public good. It was agreed that the purification should be made by the commissaries-general, conjointly with the priests appointed by the bishop for the purpose; and the same thing was arranged for the churches of the territory. This purification consisted only in various fumigations. The holy vessels, and other sacred ornaments, were consigned to the

priests alone, and purified in a manner suitable to their sanctity. All the religious houses, both of men and women, were purified likewise, with the same precautions as the other houses.

The vaults presented an object much more embarrassing. It was feared on the one hand, and with good reason, that the opening them would spread the infection anew; and, on the other, the echevins apprehended that if this were not done, they should be called upon for damages by the priests and brethren of the churches or chapels to which the vaults belonged. In this embarrassment a council was held of physicians, surgeons, architects, and masons, to consult in what manner this arduous affair must be pursued. Every one had a different idea to suggest. Those who had already advanced that there was no such thing as contagion, maintained that the vaults might be opened without danger, and lime thrown in to consume the bodies. But since the non-contagionists had not converted many disciples, this opinion did not gain much credit. Propositions were also made to insert into these vaults, by means of a small aperture, by some persons vinegar, by others lime, by others different aromatic liquors; but all these means seemed wholly insufficient to consume such a mass of bodies. My lord bishop, at length, acting with his usual prudence, and anxiety for the public safety, took upon

himself to decide the matter. Having held a consultation with the physicians of the city, in which they clearly proved to him the inefficacy of any means that could be taken by throwing in lime or other corrosive substances to consume these bodies, since they could only touch those who were at the mouth of the vault, and could by no means penetrate to those who were underneath,—he determined, in consequence of this opinion, that the only safe expedient was to abandon the vaults entirely for a long time to come. But since it was to be feared, that either through negligence and forgetfulness, or avarice, they might be opened too soon, it was necessary to shut them up in such a manner as to render the opening them, if not impossible, at least a matter of extreme difficulty. This was done by means of vast iron cramps, which confined the doors, and stopping up, with a very thick cement, all the cracks and crevices to be found about them.

But spite of all the caution and attention of the commandant and other officers, it was difficult, in a city so large as Marseilles, to prevent some persons from counteracting the excellent plans formed for the general purification. A rumour was spread in the commencement, that all the clothes and effects were to be burned; and this occasioned many persons to conceal them. Such is the avarice of mankind, that a trifling conside-

ration of interest often makes them risk, in the most absurd manner, a life which in other respects they preserve with so much care. To prevent these abuses, almost inevitable, it was decreed that the commissaries-general should make a second visit to the houses, and, if they found any effects which had not been purified, that they should undergo the usual process. This visitation was not without effect. Many clothes were found in cellars, which had either been stolen and concealed, or placed there through fear of their being burned. A third visit was decreed a short time after, and this purged the city of all fear of infection.

Enough cannot be said of the zeal and ardour with which the commissaries laboured in this great work. Animated with the same firmness and courage as the commandant, they fulfilled, in the most worthy and exemplary manner, the duties of good citizens and good Christians; and we may truly say that their cares contributed not a little to the calm and tranquillity which we began to enjoy at the end of the fourth and last period of the plague, which finished with the month of January, 1721.

This calm was so perfect, that, the physicians and surgeons being now entirely without employment, it was projected to send them to the neighbouring towns, which began to be in great need of them. The city of Aix, in particular, was much afflicted

with the disease, and in want of medical assistance. On the refusal of some others of the faculty to supply this want, Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, with Mons. Soullier, generously offered their services; in consequence of which they quitted Marseilles the end of January, accompanied by several surgeons and assistants. If from this moment our city cannot be considered as entirely free from the malady, what happened in the following months must rather be regarded as the inevitable consequences of all that had passed, than as remains of the contagion; and it is of these consequences it remains for us to treat.

CHAP. XXIV.

Consequences of the plague.

THE consequences of the plague comprehend all that passed from the beginning of February to the end of June, the time at which our history concludes.

Although we consider the plague as at an end during this period, there yet remained some vestiges of it. From time to time persons were attacked, but at the distance, perhaps, of a fortnight from each other. It is thus that this disease always disappears by degrees; it never stops on a sudden. In considering the period of which we speak as the end of the plague, we follow the custom of the Levant, where it is familiar, and where it is considered as finished when the mortality ceases, and when fresh objects are attacked only at a lapse of ten days or a fortnight from each other, as was the case at Marseilles during the five months of which I am now going to treat.

The city and territory being purified from infection in the manner already described, it was judged highly inexpedient to permit any

one attacked now to remain in their own houses ; and they were accordingly immediately transported to the hospitals. And that this ordonnance might be punctually complied with, the commandant published several different edicts, obliging all sorts and ranks of persons, whether in the city or the territory, the moment they fell sick, in any way whatever, to announce it to the commissaries ; who, on their part, were charged with providing that they should be instantly visited by a physician ; and if on his report it was judged expedient, the patient was immediately removed. And since, in proportion as the disorder daily more and more spent itself, it became still more important to keep the strictest guard against all danger of its breaking out again, this order was yet more rigidly renewed in the month of March, with pain of death, without hope of pardon, for the neglect of any part of it.

With all these precautions, there scarcely remained any sick in the city by the end of the last-mentioned month ; and if, perchance, one of a family was attacked, it was without any tragic consequences to the rest, who were nevertheless immediately, for further security, put into a very strict quarantine. I have already said, that towards the end of the disease it appeared less contagious, and less danger was incurred in approaching the sick. I know well the physicians will

here call me to a strict account ; for how is it possible, they will say, that the same disease, produced and kept alive by the same causes, should be less contagious in its conclusion than when the mortality was in its utmost vigour ? I embarrass myself very little to answer this : let them find the reason ; and, in the mean time, I hope they will permit me to adhere to my experience, which, in whatever concerns the plague, is worth all the reasoning in the world.

The state of the hospitals during this period every day visibly improved, and scarcely any new patients were received, except here and there from the country. In the hospital of La Charité, 54 were received during the month of February, and 63 convalescents discharged. In the beginning of March it was judged expedient to shut up this hospital, and the patients were removed to that of the Jeu-de-mail; which was the only one that now remained open. During the five months that the hospital of La Charité was kept open, it received in all 1013 patients, of whom only 545 died ; so that we see half the number received were saved. The honour of this is due to the zeal and application of those who conducted this hospital, as well as of those who attended on the sick. The diminution of the malady was not less sensible in the hospital of the Jeu-de-mail. Only 33 sick were received there from the city during the

month of February, and 91 from the territory : of these 68 died.

About this time, the supply of corn sent us by the sovereign pontiff arriving*, my lord bishop immediately applied himself to consider how it might be distributed with the greatest advantage among the poor. He determined that the best method was to convert one half into bread, and the other into money, and distribute both in equal portions among the poor inhabitants both of the city and territory. And to give us an opportunity of testifying our gratitude to our benefactor, he published an ordonnance on the 15th of February, ordering prayers to be offered up in all the churches for his holiness, to continue till Easter ; and afterwards, on his death, he ordered a solemn service to be sung for him in all the churches. Not content, besides, with cherishing always a spirit of piety among the faithful, but anxious equally for the bodily health of his flock, and considering that, in a time when the consti-

* This corn was sent in three vessels, one of which was unfortunately lost off the island of Porcherolles, one of the isles of Hieres ; and of 2000 charges of corn which it contained, only 300 were saved. To the honour of the Raix of Tunis, the commander in chief of the corsairs, it ought to be recorded, that when he heard that the pope was sending these vessels to the assistance of Marseilles, he gave orders to all the commanders of ships under his jurisdiction, in case they met them on the seas, to let them pass unmolested.

tutions of so many were debilitated by the severe infliction they had undergone, meagre food might be pernicious, he permitted the use of meat four days in the week through the whole of Lent, substituting in lieu of the usual abstinence of that time, certain private prayers. He appointed, likewise, various holy ceremonies, all with a view of appeasing the anger of God, and instructing and edifying his flock.

The calm which now reigned in the city could not entirely tranquillize the minds of the world at large. It was regarded as the effect of the season ; it was believed that the cold had checked the progress of the disease ; and the spring was expected with impatient anxiety, to see whether it would not then break out anew. The spring arrived, however, and all remained tranquil ; one person alone who fell sick caused considerable alarm. This was the wife of the captain of a ship, by name Rouviere. She returned from the country, where she had inhabited a bastide which was not perfectly free from suspicion. A few days after her return to the city she was taken ill, without her relations having any suspicion that it was the plague. One of the physicians of the city was called in, who immediately pronounced the dreadful sentence. The commissary of the quarter sent one of the foreign physicians to visit her, who asserted that it was not the plague. He bled her copiously, and treated her in

every respect as for a common fever ; but a bubo soon appeared, and she died. Thus was the physician of the city amply justified in his opinion. She had been transported to the hospital before her death, and her relations were immediately put into quarantine ; but none were ever attacked with the disease. Some few persons, besides, who had already passed through it, experienced relapses. The idea that no one could take it a second time was already done away, since many relapses had been experienced even at the height of the contagion. Some had taken place immediately after recovery from the first attack ; others a long time after, from the excesses into which the person had fallen. These instances, however, were not so numerous but that they might easily be counted. They were more frequent at the conclusion of the disease, particularly in the month of March.

We have already observed, that towards the end of the second period of the contagion, and during the third, many persons had it so favourably, and with such slight eruptions, that no suppuration took place in the tumours. Many of these in the spring experienced a fresh attack ; whether from the revolution which the new season made in the humours, or for what other reason, we leave the physicians to decide. What gave occasion to ascertain this fact was, that a council being held

in the arsenal to examine whether it was safe to dismiss the crews of the galleys, one of the surgeons of the marine represented, that many of the wives of these persons having had very slight attacks of the malady, were liable to relapses, and might easily communicate it to their husbands; that already there were several instances in the city, of those who had had the disease very slightly being again attacked. Mons. de Langeron, whose cares for the city interrupted not his attention to the galleys, desired the surgeon to draw up a memoir on this subject. This was accordingly done. In it the author distinguishes three classes, which he considers as particularly liable to relapses.

1st, Those whose tumours having only been opened by a simple puncture, without a complete suppuration, had rested fistulous.

2dly, Those whose tumours had undergone but a slight suppuration of some days, and in which the knot had not been eradicated or destroyed by suppuration.

3dly, Those in whom the tumour had not undergone any suppuration at all, where the knot had been suffered to remain, and had hardened, and the matter had in no way been dispersed either by purgatives or any other evacuation.

In these three cases he shows, from very sensible reasoning, that the patients are extremely liable to experience a relapse.

This memoir was remitted to Mons. Deidier, who, since the departure of Messrs. Chycoineau and Verny, was at the head of the physicians. This gentleman, persuading himself that the memoir had been drawn up by one of the physicians of the city, thought that a favourable opportunity was here presented of finally confounding them, and confirming the impressions which himself and his colleagues had already excited against them, by their new doctrine on the subject of the late disease, and on contagion in general. He convened in the house of the commandant, and by his consent, a general assembly of all the physicians and surgeons in the city. The surprise of the physicians of Marseilles at being called to an assembly of this nature may well be imagined—they who had ever been neglected and kept at as great a distance as possible by the others. But, pré-informed of the intentions of the professor, they failed not to attend.

In this assembly, Mons. Deidier caused the memoir to be read by one of the youngest of the foreign physicians, who afterwards commenced a long harangue, which he had prepared and gotten by heart, in which he laboured to prove, that the author of the memoir appeared to be not at all initiated in the principles of medicine or true chemistry. That things fermentable destroy themselves by fermentation, and that, the sick de-

scribed in the three cases of the memoir having suffered a fermentation by the pestilential fever, all fermentability was destroyed in them, and could not be revived. On this principle turned the whole of his harangue, which he delivered with such an air of confidence, that he seemed inwardly to be assured of the suffrages of the whole assembly on his side. He was followed by Mons. Deidier in confirmation of what he had advanced, who invited all present, for the honour of the faculty, to concur in his opinion. This invitation was complied with, only with the reserve of the physicians of the city; who, however, opposed nothing to so much brilliant reasoning but experience, which they were simple enough to conceive the only thing competent to decide in whatever had a reference to the plague.

If some knowledge of physics can give us a title to enter into these mysteries of chemistry, of which the author of the memoir is accused of being ignorant, we would observe, that it is not true as an universal principle, that things fermentable destroy themselves by fermentation. They frequently only envelope themselves, as it were, in salts of an opposite quality, as in a sheath, with which they compose a third salt; or they embarrass themselves in viscous or sulphurous matter, which holds them as in bonds; and in these two cases they may disengage themselves and revive anew, either by

their own motion, or by the action of some other body, or by some foreign motion which might act upon this humour. In this manner the pestilential poison might easily revive from these tumours—and in effect this was the case; so that in the month of March we saw many of these relapses. It is true, that they only happened among the lower classes, who had not taken the precautions necessary to prevent a return. In this month, the hospital of the Jeu-de-mail received 194 sick from the city and territory, of whom 65 only died; a plain proof that, in these cases of relapse, the disease was both less dangerous and less contagious than in the first instance. It was not, however, without danger or infection, since many died, and others caught the disease by communication. Several husbands and wives reciprocally gave it to each other.

To put a stop to these relapses, which were almost the only sick that remained, bills were posted about the town, inviting all those who had any remains of malady, or were in the case to fear a relapse, to declare their situation immediately, with a permission to the rich to undergo the remedies necessary in their own houses, and an offer to the poor to be attended and furnished with all things necessary at the public expense. For the latter, a place was assigned, with the medical aid requisite. These salutary regulations,

made in spite of the foreign physicians, were attended with the happiest effect; so that the relapses which had for a moment been so frequent soon almost ceased.

Some lingering sparks of the distemper, however, still lurked about, and from time to time caused alarm. In the family of a merchant who had returned from the country, notwithstanding that all the precautions prescribed by the commandant had been observed, the maid-servant soon after fell sick. As she was believed to be attacked only with some common disease, she was carried to the Hotel Dieu, where the physician who attended did not for a while suspect the truth. It must be observed in his justification, that the girl always affected an air of gaiety, and, when interrogated by him, concealed the symptoms which would have betrayed the malady. But some days after the wife of the merchant being taken ill, the servant-maid began to be suspected, and these suspicions were soon confirmed by the appearance of the bubo. She was immediately transferred to the Jeu-de-mail, where she died a few days after. The mistress was also carried thither, but, more fortunate than the maid, she recovered.

To prevent like mistakes, which were almost inevitable at a time when the virulence of the disease was so much abated that its progress was much slower, and it did not manifest itself at once,

an hospital was established at the convent of the Observantins, where the sick were first transported, till the disease was perfectly decided,—so minute was the attention paid to every object which might prevent a return of the late ravages.

In the month of April a circumstance extremely consolatory with regard to the plague took place. Common diseases, which during the fury of the contagion had entirely ceased, now began to re-appear, and take their ordinary course. A sort of epidemic distemper, indeed, arose, of the nature of the erisypelas, which seemed a consequence of the plague. It is an opinion among physicians, that the plague, in spending itself, often degenerates into some other disease, such as malignant fevers, small-pox, &c. Ours seemed to degenerate into this sort of erisypelas, with other cutaneous eruptions; none of which, however, proved fatal. The state of the hospital for the plague constantly improved. During the month of April, only 94 were received in; and of those only 19 were of the city, the rest belonging to the territory, which was now in the state the city had just passed,—that of experiencing frequent relapses. All this inspired confidence; and people began to communicate freely with each other. My lord bishop, however, not judging it proper to trust too much to this free communication, deferred the paschal communion to the feast of ascension. The

holy office was celebrated in all the churches during Passion week, with the doors shut ; but on Easter-day, such was the eagerness of the people to partake of this consolatory sacrifice, that they forced the doors of the churches, particularly of the cathedral, and entered in crowds. The commandant, fearing the effects of such numerous assemblies, above all in places so shut up, on the morrow placed guards at the doors of the churches to prevent the populace entering ; and the bishop, to satisfy in some manner the ardour of their devotion, had an altar erected in the middle of the Course, where he celebrated mass. For some time after, he continued on all the Sundays and holidays to perform mass either there or in some of the squares and other open places.

The month of May was still more tranquil. The freedom of communication daily increased ; and the fair sex, once more showing themselves in the streets, banished that frightful solitude which had so long reigned in them. The Course and the Port began to resume their accustomed gaiety, and to be again the resort of the beau-monde. The assemblies were opened, the coteries revived, and parties of pleasure recommenced. In one word, the ties of friendship and amity, which the contagion had broken, were now renewed, and the city would soon have resumed its accustomed splendour, if the terror of the contagion, spread

over all the kingdom, and carried even into foreign parts, had not still suspended its commerce. The merchants, impatient to renew it, and to repair the heavy losses they had sustained, assembled every day before the Change, which was still kept shut, and discussed their business in the open air. But it was no longer those vast projects, those grand enterprises which inundated foreign nations with our merchandise ; it was trifling speculations, capable of keeping up, but not of increasing, the fortune of the merchant. This circumstance alone is sufficient to prove of what importance it is to guard with the utmost caution and circumspection against such a calamity as we had recently experienced, which not only stopped commerce entirely for many months, but, besides, restrained and shackled it for several years after.

The malady seemed now so entirely subdued, that the magistrates began to think of returning thanks to the foreign physicians and surgeons ; who for a long time had done nothing more than increase the numbers at the Promenade. Passports were demanded for them from Mons. de Roquelaure, commandant of the province of Languedoc. Messrs. Chycoineau, Verny, and Souliers were recalled from Aix, that they might embark with the rest ; but as they came from a city less healthy than Marseilles was now, they were only received into the lazaretto. La Ciotat was

the place appointed for the quarantine of these gentlemen. Here they began to preach anew their doctrine with regard to the contagion ; but so little credit did it obtain, that they found themselves, notwithstanding, shut up within a close barrier, and excluded from all intercourse with the inhabitants of the town.

The month of June being nearly at an end, the solstice being passed, the spring having succeeded to the winter, and the summer to the spring, without any return of the mortality, the public mind was perfectly re-animated. In the hospital of the Jeu-de-mail only 43 patients remained, and almost all in a state of convalescence. A small check to this satisfaction occurred, by eight persons falling sick between the 25th and 29th. The alarm was general ; every one believed the plague rekindled by the heat of summer, and numbers were preparing for flight. But by the new attentions paid to the sick, and the assurance that these were by no means real cases of plague, but rather maladies occasioned by the heat acting upon a frame debilitated by the disorder, confidence was soon restored.

As we have hitherto only given the state of the hospital of the Jeu-de-mail by each separate month, we proceed now to state the whole number collectively, which amounted, from the 4th of October 1720, when this hospital was opened, to

the end of June 1721, when our history finishes, to 1512; of whom 820, little more than half only, died, much to the honour of the directors, the physicians, and surgeons, who had the care of it.

We would fain here state exactly the whole number who perished in this dreadful mortality; and we had flattered ourselves that we should be able to do so by means of the mortuary lists taken by the commissaries in each parish; but the manner in which these lists were made was too negligent to permit their giving any thing like an exact calculation. In some parishes, an account only was taken of those who died in the houses or streets in view of the neighbours, without reckoning those who, having wandered into distant parts of the city, perished there, or those who died in the hospitals and in the country. Some commissaries, in revising their lists, have found very considerable omissions. It was even difficult, in houses where there were several very numerous families, and where, perhaps, one or two only of all the families taken together escaped, to recall with exactitude the whole number the house had contained. How many houses, besides, had been left entirely desolate, and not one had escaped; and of these it was not to be expected the neighbours could give a very exact account. The number of strangers, moreover, and persons who had no fixed habitation, was not inconsiderable. How many

children, likewise, perished in the hands of nurses, unknown to any one ; all these things leave an impossibility of making an exact calculation, and much must be supplied by conjecture. The commissaries' lists amounted to 30,000 : to this we may, without danger of exaggeration, add 10,000 for all the omissions above marked, and 10,000 more for the territory ; which will make in the whole a dreadful mortality of 50,000 souls.

In taking another mode of calculation, by the number of deaths, of which an exact account had been kept from day to day at the commencement of the contagion till the 15th of August, and calculating from the proportions on its decline, which may be estimated on nearly the same scale as on its increase, the whole number will amount to nearly the same.

Perhaps a still more just idea of the mortality may be formed from taking a retrospect of the losses sustained in each separate body or trade. We will cite some which may serve as a guide for the rest. Of 100 master batters, 53 died ; and of 300 journeymen who remained in the city, the rest having fled, only 30 escaped. Of 104 master joiners, 84 died. Of 138 master taylorers, 78 died. Of 200 shoemakers, 90 only survived ; and of 400 cobblers, only 50. The masons were reduced from 500 to 150. If we descend to more servile occupations, such as porters, &c. not more than

one in six escaped. With the women and children it was still worse, for the disease was always more fatal to them than to the men. By this we may form some idea of the general mortality, which certainly, on a moderate computation, carried away half the number of our inhabitants.

On the day of the fête Dieu, the 12th of June, my lord bishop judged that with some precautions he might venture to celebrate the procession of the Holy Sacrament. The people were not, however, permitted to enter the churches. And the 20th of the same month the feast of the sacred heart of Jesus, which his lordship had solemnly vowed, was performed with all possible solemnity. He also made a general procession, followed by a crowd, among whom this free communication occasioned no new disasters. This, united with the calm we had for some time enjoyed, notwithstanding the revolutions of the seasons, and the heat of summer, made us regard the town as entirely freed from the malady.—Happy release from a scourge so horrible!

Yet this terrible disease seemed still to continue to give a tone to all others. This gave occasion to those who visited the sick to take sometimes for the plague, that which was only a very remote consequence of it, without considering that a single symptom unconnected with the rest is not sufficient to constitute the plague. But as these,

though bearing a dying character of our formidable foe, cannot be considered as really afflicted with the plague, we are authorized in considering it as at an end in the month of June.

Thus finished this contagion *, so rapid in its progress, so violent in its symptoms, so dreadful in its ravages, so ruinous in its duration, so fatal among so many families—this plague which swept away the half of our inhabitants, and left the rest in mourning and desolation—which reduced to a sorrowful desert a city once among the most populous on the globe, and left in the utmost misery a people lately so proud of their riches and opulence. We owe our deliverance, and the cessation of this terrible scourge, to the mercy of the Lord, who was pleased to relent in his anger at the prayers of our bishop—to the wisdom of a commandant, whose vigilance was alive to every thing that human prudence could suggest—to

* Some remains of this dreadful malady appear, however, still to have lurked in the city, though the author of this narrative, and the public at large, flattered themselves it had now wholly disappeared. From a journal of remarkable occurrences at Marseilles, kept by an inhabitant of the city, and who was living at the same period, it appears that the plague broke out there again in the month of May 1722, and continued till August, making considerable ravages; but the mortality was nothing in comparison of what had been experienced two years before. Since that time the town has been wholly free from this dreadful scourge.

the zeal of the magistrates and citizens, who assisted his efforts—to the prayers of the sovereign pontiff of happy memory, and to those of many bishops and pious pastors within the kingdom—to the supplications and alms of a variety of other worthy and compassionate souls—to the cares of an intendant always attentive to all our necessities—and, above all, to the liberality of the illustrious prince who governs us, and the ample succours he afforded our city.

Happy will it be if the remembrance of our past misfortunes serve us as a warning for the future, and inspire us with wisdom to use all human means to guard against the renewal of a catastrophe so deplorable—still more happy if it teach us, from this time forward, to regulate our hearts and conduct on the principles of true piety and morality, and to entertain a just fear of exciting once more the anger of the Lord against us, and drawing down on our heads a judgment yet more dreadful.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Report of Mons. Perrin, physician, and Mons. Croizet, surgeon to the royal hospital of the galleys, deputed to visit the sick in the town of Marseilles suspected of having the plague.*

WE the undersigned, physician and surgeon to the Royal Hospital for the convicts on board the galleys, do certify :

That having been deputed by the general officers and intendant of the galleys, assembled in council this first day of August 1720, to visit the sick in Marseilles suspected of being attacked by the plague, we presented ourselves at the Hotel de Ville at three o'clock this afternoon to meet Messrs. Robert and Audon, graduate physicians ; and Mons. Bouzon, master-surgeon of the city, named by Messrs. the echevins to accompany us in our visit ; whence having repaired all together to the different quarters of the city we found as follows :—

* Referred to in page 69.

1st. In the quarter of the cathedral church, where many persons have already died of the plague, as it is supposed, we examined the body of a woman of sixty years of age, dead after an illness of three days; on whom we found no marks of a pestilential disease on any part of the body. We afterwards visited, in another house, a woman of thirty-five years of age, who had a bubo in the groin upon the left side. As we did not, however, perceive any other symptom of a pestilential disease—from this and other circumstances which we learned relative to the woman, we have reason to think that the tumour proceeded from a very different malady.

2dly. We next examined the body of a girl of twenty years of age, near the convent of the Grands Carmes. According to the account given by her mother she was seized with a violent sickness and head-ach, accompanied with a general faintness, and died in thirty hours after her seizure, covered with livid purple spots, having the belly extremely distended, and of a purple colour; and having discharged a great quantity of blood at the nose in a very liquefied and serous state. In the same quarter we found many other persons of both sexes and different ages, to the number of eight or ten, attacked with fever, pains in the head, and violent sickness; which was ascribed by those about them to the quantity of bad fruit they had eaten; but in none did we find symptoms which appeared to indicate the contagion.

3dly. In the *Rue de l'Escale** we visited a house where

* *The street of the Ladder*:—so called from its excessive steepness. *Escale*, in the Provençal tongue, signifies a ladder. This was the street where the disease first broke out, and where it always made the greatest ravages.

a woman had died suddenly, four or five days before, suspected of having the plague. Her child of twelve years old had died this day, covered with livid purple spots, and with an excessive tension of the belly, and a swelling near the glands of the groin on the left side. She had been seized, according to the account of those about her, two days before with a violent nausea, and insupportable pains in the head. By the side of this body, on a wretched bed, was her father aged forty years lying down dressed: his face was livid, his eyes sunk and dying; he had been seized two days before with a violent head-ach and vomiting; he had a tumour on the groin on the right side, he was covered with livid purple spots, and his belly was extremely distended with very violent pains. In another house near this we found a mother and daughter, the former thirty-five, the latter fourteen years of age, both with the face livid and eyes sunk, and with such an excessive faintness that they were scarcely able to open their eyes: the daughter had been ill two days with the most violent head-ach and nausea; neither of them had any tumours either on the groin or under the arms, nor had they any purple spots.

4thly. In ascending near the fountain of the Samaritan Woman we found a girl of twenty years of age recently dead, covered with a livid purple, having been ill three days with violent head-ach and continued vomitings. In a little bed by her side was her brother, thirteen years old, who had been seized the day before with horrible pains in the head and violent efforts to vomit. His eyes were sparkling and inflamed; his tongue was dry and whitish, and his belly swelled, with excessive languor, and a considerable swelling near the groin on the right side, which occasioned him violent pain.

Lastly. In a house upon the Course, we found a woman of forty years of age who was in a strong delirium, with convulsive twitchings in all her limbs. Her eyes were inflamed, and in many parts of her body were purple spots. Her brother told us that she was seized, four days before, with a violent sickness and pain in the head. He added, moreover, that a child had died in the same house a few days before, after only two days' illness, who was seized in like manner with violent pains in the head, and vomitings.

Finally. Having examined the diseased very accurately, we cannot doubt that the malady is extremely contagious and pestilential; and that the utmost precaution is necessary to prevent the most fatal consequences.

Given at Marseilles this 1st day of August 1720.

Signed,

PERRIN,

Physician to the royal hospital of the galleys.

CROIZET,

Surgeon to the same hospital.

No. II.

*Report transmitted to the Government by Messrs. Chycoineau and Vernet, physicians of Montpellier, deputed by his royal highness the Regent to visit the sick at Marseilles, in order to ascertain the nature of the malady which reigns there *.*

ACCORDING to the orders of his royal highness we repaired to Marseilles, where we arrived on the 13th of this present month August. We immediately desired his excellency the governor, and Messrs. the echevins, to convene an assembly of all the physicians and surgeons who had been employed in visiting the patients afflicted with the disease, which has reigned for two months in that city; that we might learn their opinions on its nature and cause, and see how far the observations we should afterwards make might or might not concur with these opinions. We met accordingly on the same day, in the Hotel de Ville, when these gentlemen were all unanimous in their opinions both as to the nature of the disease, and as to the causes which had produced it, as well as to those which contribute to its constant increase.

1st. They assert that the disease carries off in a very short time, sometimes even in three or four hours, and

* Referred to page 100.

at the utmost in two or three days, a very large majority of those whom it attacks.

2dly. That when it enters a house it spreads instantly from one to the other, so that no one in the family escapes the contagion, and in many instances the whole family has perished. And wherever it has happened that any one member has escaped from among a family attacked, before the infection has begun to appear upon himself, he has constantly carried the malady into the quarter of the city in which he had taken refuge, however remote it might be from his own habitation.

3dly. That this malady is attended with the same symptoms in all the subjects it attacks, of whatever condition they may be, and exhibits the same characteristics, such as carbuncles, bubos, livid pustules, and purple spots. It begins with the same accidents as the common malignant fever: such as shiverings, sickness, violent head-ach, languor, nausea, vomitings; afterwards succeed ardent heat, drowsiness, delirium; the tongue becomes dry and black, the eyes sparkling, wandering or dying; the pulse irregular and sometimes extremely high, the complexion cadaverous; and often to these are added convulsive motions and hæmorrhages.

As to the causes, they agree equally that the malady began to appear soon after the arrival of a ship from Seyde which had lost seven or eight persons in its passage, all of whom were attacked with similar symptoms. Some merchandise from this vessel had been carried secretly and without any precaution into a house in one of the streets in the town which is only inhabited by the lowest among the people, and it was in this street that the malady first broke out. Several porters employed in the infirmary on bales of merchandise, which had been brought in the same ship, had also died suddenly. That

the inhabitants of the street where the malady commenced had spread it into other quarters of the town by the communication which always subsists among all the inhabitants of the same place. The physicians assured us, however, that it was among the poor mechanics, and those who are obliged to live on mean and unwholesome food, that the disease has spread, rather than among persons in a superior class.

After this oral report, we begged of the same gentlemen to give us in writing some of the cases which each separately had observed. This was accordingly done, and we found them all in strict conformity with the facts given above.

However, to fulfil more exactly the mission with which his royal highness had honoured us, we visited ourselves both the hospital, to which the sick suspected of having the plague are transported, and the principal quarters of the city. At the hospital, which is placed at one of the extremities of the city, we found from four to five hundred sick, more than two-thirds of whom were attacked with the malady as above described; having tumours, livid pustules, and purple spots. Some were expiring, and others appeared nearly so, though they had been brought thither only a few hours before: those who had been longest in the hospital still had not been there above two or three days; so that forty or fifty dead bodies were piled one on another in a passage which leads to all the wards, and a like number of dead might be reckoned upon every four-and-twenty hours.

After visiting this hospital, we repaired to several different quarters of the city, and can affirm that there is not one where there are not a number of persons attacked with the same disease. Often have we found in the

same house, father, mother, children, all labouring under the infection, ready to perish, and deprived of all sort of assistance.

These visits made—to conclude all, we thought it right to have three bodies opened in our presence: in these we only found gangrenous inflammations, or inflammations tending to the gangrenous.

All these observations have convinced us that the malady which now reigns in this city is a true pestilential fever, not yet arrived at its utmost degree of malignity; since we have remarked, that among those who have taken the infection some few have escaped, provided proper care was taken of them in the beginning of the malady, and that they were well supplied with wholesome nourishment. But the city is so destitute of the aliments necessary in such cases, particularly of butcher's meat; and so little precaution has hitherto been taken to separate the infected from those who are yet free from infection, that unless his royal highness will be pleased to grant his particular interference, it is obvious that this *sort of plague*, which increases every day, will become fatal, not only to the city, but even to the neighbouring provinces; nay, perhaps, to the whole kingdom.

Given at Marseilles, this 18th day of August, 1720.

Signed,

CHYCOINEAU.
VERNY.

No. III.

*Mandate of the most reverend and most illustrious the lord
bishop of Marseilles*.*

HENRY FRANCIS XAVIER de BELZUNCE de CASTELMORON, by the favour of Divine Providence, and of the holy apostolic see, bishop of Marseilles, abbé of Notre Dame des Chambons, counsellor of his majesty in all his councils.

To the secular and regular clergy, and all the faithful of his diocese, salutation and blessing in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.

WOE woe ! to you and to ourselves, my dearest brethren, if all that we have seen, all that we have experienced, for a long time past, from the anger of a God the avenger of guilt, shall not be able in these times of dreadful mortality to make us turn our eyes inward upon ourselves, and, in the anguish of our souls, take a retrospect of our past lives ; such a retrospect as shall lead us finally to have recourse to the mercy of the Lord, whose hand, while yet extended over us so severely, holds out at the same time, for our encouragement, that pardon which he will not, however, grant but to our sincere repentance and amendment.

Has he not already explained himself with sufficient

* Referred to in page 136.

clearness, by so many judgments sent to punish the sinner? by the scarcity, the excessive dearness of all the necessaries of life—by the extreme and general misery, which increases every day—by the plague, the most severe ever experienced, which threatens the total ruin of this once great, once flourishing city, which has already wholly extinguished a considerable number of families, and carried desolation and mourning into every house! And can we, who behold such an infinite number of victims daily immolated to the justice of an incensed and avenging God;—can we, who are not less guilty than those of our brethren over whom his formidable arm has been extended, remain tranquil, nor employ our utmost efforts by a speedy and sincere repentance to escape the sword of the angel of destruction!

Without entering into the secret recesses of so many houses desolated by the plague and by famine, where nought was to be seen but dying and dead—nought to be heard but cries and groans—where the corrupting for several days of lifeless bodies by the side of those who had not yet expired, was a punishment more horrible for the living than even death itself!—without speaking, I say, of all the horrors which have not been public, what frightful spectacles have we not witnessed for nearly four months past, and do we not still behold! We have seen—can we ever reflect upon it, my dearest brethren, without shuddering? and will future ages believe our report?—we have seen all the streets of this great city at the same time bordered on each side with dead bodies half corrupted—with infected clothes and effects thrown from the windows, so that we scarcely knew where to put our feet. All the squares and market-places, all the doors of the churches obstructed with heaps of putrid corpses, some of which the dogs were even devouring, without

a possibility, for several days together, to procure them interment. We have seen at the same time an infinite number of sick become objects of horror and terror, even to those towards whom nature should have inspired them with sentiments of the utmost tenderness, and, abandoned by their nearest friends, cast inhumanly from their own houses into the streets, without assistance, and amid an indiscriminate heap of dead and dying; the odour and infection of whom were insupportable.

How many times, in the bitterness of our grief, have we not beheld these miserable and expiring victims stretch out their trembling hands towards us, to evince their joy at beholding us once more, before their eyes were closed for ever, and ask our benediction and absolution of their sins, with tears and sentiments of the most perfect faith, penitence, and resignation! How many times has not our heart been torn with the most poignant regret, on seeing them at length expire before our eyes, without the possibility of affording them any succour! We have seen husbands drag into the streets the bodies of their wives, and wives those of their husbands; parents those of their children, and children those of their parents;—evincing even more horror and repugnance against them, than regret for their loss! We have seen the bodies of the most wealthy and the highest rank, wrapped only in a sheet, mingled with the poorest and most degraded—thrown like them into a wretched cart, and heaped together without distinction into one common grave, in unholy ground, without the rites of sepulture! God willing it thus, to demonstrate to man the vanity and emptiness of that worldly wealth and grandeur after which he runs so eagerly. We have seen—and we ought to regard this as the most sensible mark of

the Divine wrath—we have seen the priests of the Most High, of all degrees, struck with terror, seek their safety in a shameful flight ; while a prodigious number of the saints and faithful ministers of the Lord have been taken away from the midst of us, at a time when their indefatigable zeal and heroic charity appeared the most necessary for the support and consolation of their flocks, and the salvation of their souls.

Marseilles—that city lately so flourishing, so wealthy, so populous!—that city of which ye were so proud ; which ye delighted to show, to excite the admiration of strangers ; the beauty and magnificence of which ye boasted with such exultation—as well as the singularity of the territory adjacent!—that city, whose commerce extended from one end of the universe to the other ; the constant resort of all nations, even the most barbarous and most distant ! Marseilles is fallen—she is destitute of all succour—she is forsaken by those of her own citizens who were most able to console her, and who ought to have been the most active to assuage and alleviate her miseries ! This city, in short, through whose streets we lately could scarcely pass from the concourse of people they contained—from their affluence, their industry, and their commerce, is now delivered up to solitude, to silence, to indigence, to desolation, to death!—Once the pride of France, she is now her terror. The whole kingdom—all Europe even—is armed against her unfortunate sons. They are become the dread and odium of all other mortals, nor is there any thing they now fear so much as any intercourse with her.

What a dreadful change!—Did the Lord ever pour out his wrath in a manner more marked or more terrible?—Doubt it not, my dearest brethren, 'tis by the ex-

cess of our crimes that we merited this severe judgment. Impiety, irreligion, bad faith, usury, impurity, and luxury, were at their height among you. The holy ordinances of God were no longer observed—the sabbaths and appointed feasts were profaned—the fasts and abstinences, no less indispensable, were violated by a scandalous licentiousness. The voice of the pastor—that of the holy church herself, and her formidable censures, were spurned with proud contempt by some rebel sons, who dared to erect themselves into judges and arbiters of the faith. The august temples of the living God were become places of rendezvous, of conversation, and of amusement; the mysteries of iniquity were treated of even at the foot of the altar, and at the time of the divine sacrifice. The saint of saints was personally insulted in his holy sacrament by a thousand irreverences, and an infinite number of unworthy communions, without the different calamities with which he has afflicted us at many intervals, and by degrees, having been able to reform a conduct so criminal: as if the sinners of our days had madly undertaken to provoke with haughtiness the justice of God, and insult him even in his anger.

If then we at this day feel its most fatal effects—if we experience how terrible it is to fall into the hands of an offended God—if we have the misfortune to serve as a warning to all nations; let us not seek the cause without,—it is to be found within ourselves. Surrounded by the shades of death, let us behold his approach with submission, blessing the hand that strikes us, and adoring without a murmur the rigour and justice of his chastisements. All the succour that man can give us is vain; we know this but too well. To whom then, in circumstances so

awful, shall we have recourse to appease the anger of God, and obtain our pardon, but to the divine Saviour of our souls, our mediator before the heavenly Father? He is always ready to hear us; he can, if he judge meet, cause our tribulations to cease; his goodness is a thousand times greater than our transgressions; he wills not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his ways and live. Prostrate before him in sackcloth and ashes, let us implore his mercy, and endeavour by a sincere and speedy penitence to touch with compassion his adorable heart, which has so loved men, even ingrate and sinners as they are, as to lay down his life for them. If we address ourselves to him with souls sincerely humble and contrite, we may hope with confidence that we shall not be entirely rejected; and that in the God made Man, source inexhaustible of all grace, we shall find a certain and speedy remedy to our misfortunes. 'Tis in his name we must pray, if we would that our prayers should be heard: for it is by the force and virtue of that holy name that the greatest miracles are performed.

It is with these causes in view, to appease the just anger of God and procure the cessation of that dreadful calamity which desolates a flock that was always so dear to us; to do honour to Jesus Christ in his holy sacrament, in order to repair the outrages it has received from unworthy and sacrilegious communions, and the irreverencies he has experienced in the mystery of his love to mankind; to make him loved by the faithful committed to our care; and finally, in hopes of atoning for the crimes which have drawn down the divine vengeance upon us; that we have established, and do establish throughout our diocese, the feast of the sacred heart of Jesus, which shall hereafter be celebrated every year on the first Friday which

follows immediately the octave of the holy sacrament : a day on which it is already fixed in many parts of the kingdom ; and we appoint it a feast of obligation, to be observed strictly throughout our diocese, permitting that on that day the holy sacrament shall be exposed every year in the parish churches of this city, and in the rest of our diocese, and in all the quarters of the territory of Marseilles, as also in the churches of all the communities, secular and regular, throughout our diocese, reserving only to ourselves, with regard to the communities, to give the permission in writing according to the usual custom.

Further, we order for the same purposes, and with the like intentions, that henceforward the feast of the holy name of Jesus be in like manner celebrated throughout our diocese, on the 14th of the month of January, with the same solemnities as that of the heart of Jesus, giving the same permission for the exposition of the holy sacrament; willing that the proper services composed for these feasts, and which we will immediately cause to be printed, be recited in our diocese by all those whose office it is to perform the divine service, together with the mass proper for each feast. Both to commence in the following year 1721. And we exhort all chapters, vicars, curates, and superiors of communities, both male and female, throughout our diocese, to enter into our views, and into the spirit in which we have established these two new feasts, and to celebrate them with the utmost solemnity possible; to which, if it shall please the Lord to preserve us amid the danger to which we are exposed, we ourselves will contribute to the utmost of our power. Finally, we enjoin all vicars and curates in our diocese, to impress the minds of their parishioners with the utility,

which may prove to themselves an act of devotion so essential and so agreeable as the feasts of the sacred name and sacred heart of Jesus; since to honour the heart and name of Jesus is to honour God himself, in the person of the adorable Saviour of our souls, to whom we this day consecrate our diocese in a particular manner, exhorting every one of the faithful in particular to purify immediately his heart, and devote it entirely to that of Jesus.

Happy, a thousand times happy, the people who, by abstaining from every thing profane; by their inviolable attachment to the antient and salutary doctrine; by their humble and perfect submission to the decisions of the church, the spouse of Jesus Christ; by the holiness and regularity of their lives, shall be always found according to the heart of Jesus, and whose names shall be written in his adorable heart. He shall be their guide in the dangerous ways of this world; their consolation in misery; their asylum in persecution, their defence against the gates of hell, and their names shall never be effaced from the book of God.

And we command that this our present ordonnance be sent and affixed wherever need requires, and that it be read and published at the sermon of the masses of the different churches the earliest day possible, and the two Sundays of the ensuing year immediately preceding the feasts we hereby establish.

Given at Marseilles this 28th of October, 1720.

Signed, HENRY, bishop of Marseilles.

No. IV.

*Brief of his holiness the pope, addressed to the lord bishop of Marseilles *.*

To our venerable brother Henry bishop of Marseilles,
Clement the XIth, pope, salutation and apostolical
benediction.

OUR particular affection and paternal tenderness for your city have created in our breast a lively and just grief, in learning by the public reports that it is grievously afflicted with the plague. Although we fear that the sinfulness of mankind, and our own sinfulness in particular, have not a little contributed to this calamity, since the Lord is accustomed to make use of these scourges to manifest most clearly his anger against a sinful people; yet our heart, in the depth of its affliction, has found consolation in reflecting that Marseilles is governed by a bishop full of probity, vigilance, piety, and zeal. He will not, therefore, fail, not only to procure, with the utmost attention to those afflicted with the malady, all the spiritual and temporal aid within his power, but he will also in these days of anger take on himself the function of conciliator, and exert all his efforts to turn away the divine wrath and indignation by his pious and fervent prayers.

* Referred to in page 196.

This advantageous idea which we had conceived of our venerable brother, has been fully confirmed to us by all that we have heard, by the letters of various persons, and particularly by that written by himself the fourth day of August, to our dear son De Gay, canon penitentiary of Avignon, which he imparted to ourselves a few days ago. By all these letters we learn, that after the example of our Lord and master, our venerable brother is ready to lay down his life for the flock committed to his care: that he visits those struck with the plague; consoling them with paternal tenderness; exciting them, by exhortations suited to their unhappy state, to have recourse to the divine goodness to obtain the pardon of their sins; that he administers with his own hands the holy sacraments of the church; and that, with regard to those who suffer less from the disease than from want, he seeks every means of furnishing them with all necessaries for the support of life:—in short, that in every respect he fulfils perfectly all the duties of a good and vigilant bishop.

We are then filled with consolation, and penetrated with joy, in beholding him animated with that perfect charity which nothing can appall; which, in a time so urgent, flies no fatigue or trouble, nor shuns the dangers inseparable from the contagion; which is not stopped by the fear of a death which appeared to the piety of the first faithful, not less glorious than martyrdom, when we expose ourselves to it voluntarily, from motives of true piety and faith accompanied with the most heroic courage and fortitude. 'Tis this which gives us reason to believe that God has sent this fatal contagion to the end that the contumacious, feeling the penalty of their sins, may be forced at length to lower their proud

heads, and pay to the holy see the obedience they owe it; and that our venerable brother himself may have a wider field on which to exercise his exemplary virtues and increase his merits.

But since our pontifical solicitude requires of us that we do not confine ourselves merely to giving praise where praise is deserved, but that, without waiting for its being asked of us, we give to the zeal of our brother all the assistance, both spiritual and temporal, in our power; opening those treasures of the church, the dispensation of which the Most High has confided to our humility: we have granted in the present necessity many indulgences to the clergy and people committed to the care of our dearest brother, as will be more amply seen in the particular brief for this purpose which will accompany the present. We have besides ordered that there be purchased with our pence, and conveyed the soonest possible to our suffering brethren, two thousand bushels of wheat Roman measure, to be distributed among the poor, gratis, as a proof of our paternal affection. For the rest, we shall never cease with the utmost humility to supplicate the All-powerful to extend over his afflicted creatures the arm of his mercy, and to remove far from them all those errors which may occasion their final destruction.

Finally, we wish thee, our venerable brother, with all our heart, the continual assistance of the grace of God, and we give thee with all tenderness our apostolical benediction.

Given at Rome at St. Mary the Great, under the signet of the Fisherman, this 14th day of September, 1720, and the twentieth year of our pontificate.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER, archbishop of Amaſia.

Another brief to our venerable brother Henry lord bishop of Marseilles. Clement the XIth, pope, salutation and apostolical benediction.

HAVING learned with the most sensible affliction that the plague is in your city of Marseilles, and perhaps in other places of your diocese ; and since it is to be feared, which God however avert ! that it may pass into others now uncontaminated ; we, desirous to contribute to the spiritual consolation and salvation of those already struck with the plague, or who may be struck hereafter, as well as to the consolation and salvation of those who attend on this description of sick, confiding in the mercy of the All-powerful, and in the authority of his blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, do hereby grant a plenary indulgence for all their sins, to all those of the faithful of both sexes in the city and diocese of Marseilles who shall be infected with the plague, which we pray God however not to permit. And we do further grant a like indulgence to all ministers of the Lord who shall administer the holy sacraments to persons infected with the plague, or to those who are suspected to be so. Likewise to the physicians and surgeons who labour at their cure ; and to all in general who shall give assistance to the sick in their necessities. To the midwives who shall assist at the delivery of women afflicted with the plague, and the nurses who shall give suck to their children. To those who shall conduct the sick to the hospitals or other places destined for their reception. To those who shall transport to the grave, or inter, persons dead of the plague. In short, to all the faithful of both sexes who shall administer in any way

to the necessities of their brethren afflicted with the plague. To those who shall visit and console them, or exercise any other act of spiritual or temporal charity towards them; provided that, being truly and sincerely penitent, they receive the holy communion once in the week, and recite the Chaplet, or the third part of the Rosary of the blessed Virgin Mary, or the Seven Penitential Psalms.

We grant also plenary indulgence in the Lord, and remission of sins, to those who, struck with the plague, if truly penitent, have confessed themselves and received the holy sacrament; or, if this has not been possible, have, with contrite hearts, invoked the name of Jesus, and resigned themselves wholly to him, at least internally, if not able to do it otherwise. Desirous of opening to you still further the treasure of the church, and to give to the dead the succour of which they may stand in need, we grant indulgence to all priests, whether secular or regular, who, during the contagion, shall say, at any altar you shall appoint in the city or in the diocese of Marseilles, mass for the repose of the souls in purgatory of any of the faithful; so that by the merits of Jesus Christ, the blessed Virgin Mary, and all the saints, they may be delivered from the pains of purgatory;—suspending, during the time it may be necessary, our constitution *de non concedendis indulgentiis ad instar*, and every other apostolic constitution and ordonnance which may be contrary to these presents.

The present to be current for six months, counting from the day of its publication, or to the end of the plague.

Given at Rome at St. Mary the Great, under the signet of the Fisherman, this 15th day of September, 1720, and the twentieth year of our pontificate.

F. CAROL. OLIVIERI.

Mandate of the most reverend and illustrious the lord bishop of Marseilles.

HENRY FRANCIS XAVIER de BELZUNCE de CASTELMORON, by divine Providence and the favour of the holy apostolic see, bishop of Marseilles, abbé of Notre Dame des Chambons, counsellor to his majesty in all his councils, to the secular and regular clergy of this city, salutation and blessing in our lord Jesus Christ.

THE ministers of the Lord, as well secular as regular, may gain the indulgence granted for the dead by our holy father the pope, in saying the mass at the altar of the holy sacrament in our cathedral at Marseilles, or at the principal altar in any of the parish churches, or of the churches belonging to the religious communities :— in the town of La Ciotat, at the great altar of the parish church, or at those of the Capucins and Minimes ; or in the town of Aubagne at the parish-church, and the church of the Observantins. We conjure all the priests of our diocese, both secular and regular, to profit by this opportunity to procure the deliverance of so many thousands of persons dead during the contagion, and for whom no one has yet thought of saying any prayer. We recommend to them particularly to ask of God in their prayers the preservation of our holy and charitable pontiff, from whom we have received, in these days of tears and desolation, such marks of goodness, so consoling, so precious to us, so honourable and so beneficial to Marseilles. We order, finally, to all the clergy in our diocese, secular as well as regular, to say once in the week, when

there shall be a day at liberty, the mass *pro vitanda mortalitate*, which will be found in the Missal.

Given at Marseilles this 9th day of October, 1720.

HENRY, bishop of Marseilles.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note to page 11, line 4 of the note.

I HAVE somewhere read, though I cannot immediately recollect where, that persons in the Levant, and other countries very conversant with the plague, can always tell by the eyes when any one is infected with it, even though no signs of disease should yet have appeared upon him. The *holy hermit*, to whom the disorder appears to have been extremely familiar, had probably acquired the faculty not only of distinguishing by this means when a person was infected, but to what degree; and consequently whether or not it were likely he should recover.

Note to page 19, line 12.

In the reasoning here followed, Mons. Bertrand seems to consider it as a thing very possible, that the plague may originate in natural causes existing in a particular place, without being brought by infection from a foreign quarter, where it was known to prevail. In the same light is this disease considered by the abbé Papon, in his *Treatise on the Plague*. He contends that it was formerly, at least, indigenous in Europe; nor will allow that it was first introduced into our quarter of the world

from the East.—“Almost all persons,” says he, “who have written on this subject, affirm that the plague had its origin in the East, and particularly in Egypt; and that whenever it has ravaged any part of Europe, it has always been brought from thence. But here they do not pay attention to one circumstance:—that, supposing Egypt to have been the hot-bed where it was constantly engendered and nurtured, distant nations, that had no communication with this, would never have experienced its ravages.—Besides,” he further says, “who can believe that nature produces in one particular country alone those bodies, the exhalations of which have the peculiar property of impregnating the air with the pestilential poison, as she produces only in certain climates plants which are unknown in all others?”—He then asserts that the plague was unknown, or at least had been entirely extirpated in Egypt at the time of the foundation of Rome, and that even in the infancy of that city she was subject to its ravages, citing Plutarch and Livy as authorities for its having desolated Italy in the reigns of Numa and Tullus Hostilius. He goes on to say, that in the vapours which arise from uncultivated lands, from stagnant waters, from numbers of venomous reptiles, or swarms of insects, or from animal carcasses left to rot in the air, are to be found the causes in which the plague originates—that Egypt was at the time in question in the highest state of cultivation and civilization, consequently free from all these sources of infection, while they existed in Italy, Gaul, and Spain;—that the plague, therefore, which ravaged Rome in her infancy cannot have been brought from Egypt, but must have originated in causes inherent in her own bosom. It is only by the subsequent state of moral degradation, and consequent

physical decay into which Egypt has fallen under the empire of the Mussulmans—since her canals are choked up and become infectious bogs, and that a great part of the country ceasing to receive the waters of the Nile, the lands lie uncultivated, and are covered with noxious insects and venomous reptiles;—it is only since these causes have existed, that she bears in her bosom a pestilential venom, ready at all times to pass into and infect any extraneous body capable of receiving it;—while, on the contrary, Italy and Gaul having in later times succeeded to that high degree of cultivation to which Egypt had formerly arisen, they no more bear in their bosoms the germs of this malady; they can only imbibe it from some foreign cause.

But supposing the plague really to have its origin in the causes to which it is here ascribed, it would surely be difficult to prove that it should not be equally indigenous in Europe, to use Mons. Papon's term, in the present time as formerly. Though Italy is better cultivated than it was in the days of her early kings, yet the Pontine marshes still exist—though the face of the country in Gaul has undergone wonderful changes, since the coasts were almost the only part inhabited, stagnated waters, from excessive drought, are still to be found in various parts in the summer season, and why do they not now produce the plague?—why do numbers live in perfect health under the reach of their influence? and among those who suffer from it, why is their malady any thing rather than the plague?—Why, finally, are agues, not the plague, the productions of our own fens in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire?—In short, can an instance be cited within the time when we have any solid data, on which to ground our reasoning that the plague has

broken out in Europe when its origin could not be traced to a foreign cause; and may we not, therefore, justly conclude that it has always been so? The reason of its greater frequency at present in the Levant and in Turkey, than among the nations of Europe, is so obvious in the total absence of all precaution to prevent it, that there is no occasion to seek for any other cause. The apathy of the people is a much more powerful reason why the plague should be prevalent in Egypt than the choking of their canals. Melancholy, indeed, would be the consideration if this were not so, if we might expect such a mortality as Marseilles experienced in 1720 to arise out of a stagnated marsh.

Note to Chap. V.

It is a very singular fact, yet no less true than extraordinary, that instead of being alarmed at the least idea of the plague being in any town, and immediately resorting to all possible precautions for preventing its progress, the propensity among mankind is to conceal the nature of the disease, and call it any thing else rather than what it really is, till all precaution becomes too late. We have a striking instance of this before us, in the strange, and one cannot but say wilful incredulity of the Marseillais upon this occasion; and the case was much the same in the plague of London, in the year 1665, when, in the commencement of the malady, false accounts were given in the bills of mortality both as to the numbers who died, and the cause of their deaths; and while the disease daily and palpably increased, still the deaths were ascribed to spotted fevers, and any other

cause rather than the true one. Such, at least, is the report of one who styles himself a citizen, who resided in London during the whole time of the plague.

Note to page 79, line 6.

Mons. Ranchin was professor of physic at Montpellier, and chancellor of that university when the plague broke out there in 1629. He is the first person who ever wrote upon the police necessary to be observed in a town in the time of the plague—a work which, it appears, the magistrates of Marseilles had great occasion to consult.

Note to page 80, line 5.

In the plague at Athens, in the year 331 before Christ, Hippocrates had fires lighted in the streets, under the idea of destroying the infection by this means; but the experiment did not succeed, the malady continued its ravages as much as before. For some time during the plague of London, fires were kept constantly lighted in many of the streets, but not appearing to produce any beneficial effect, the idea was at length given up.

Note to page 97, line 19.

A mistake appears here to be made with regard to Mons. Peyssonnel's work. This gentleman had published in the year 1704, *Idée de la Physique mechanique*;

it is to be presumed, then, that what he was about to publish at his death was some other work, or perhaps a new and improved edition of the former.

Note to Chap. XII.

In the account of the plague at London, in the year 1665, we have a recapitulation of some things very similar to what are related here; though, in general, the horrors of that time in London did not rise to any thing like the height they are represented to have done at Marseilles. In the former place, as in the latter, the nurses and those who attended on the sick were suspected of sometimes anticipating the stroke of death to the sufferers, from impatience to pillage whatever they could lay their hands upon; and those who were employed to bury the dead were suspected, wherever any corpse had been decently wrapped up by its friends ere it was delivered to them, of stripping it before it was consigned to the earth. What an unaccountable propensity must the heart of man have to plunder the property of his neighbour, when it could even steal things infected with the plague!

Many of the sufferers in the plague of London, as here, are represented as throwing themselves out of the window or otherwise dispatching themselves, either from phrensy or excess of agony from their sores. In all places where this malady has raged, phrensy, and that of the most dreadful kind, appears to have been one of its most inveterate attendants. It is mentioned by the abbé Papon as having risen to a dreadful height in the plague at Constantinople in 1342; many of the sufferers

imagined they saw malignant spirits and dæmons who struck them with the disease, and they ran frantic about to endeavour to hide themselves from them; others imagined themselves pursued by a voice which was incessantly crying to them that their names were inscribed in the book of death; others, again, believed themselves encompassed by assassins, and ran about uttering the most dreadful cries and shrieks. At Digne, a town in Provence, in the year 1629, a man struck with the plague fancied that he could fly, and, getting upon the roof of the house, lanced himself forwards, and was dashed to pieces by the fall. An extraordinary instance is recorded in the time of the plague of London, of a man who in his phrensy broke away from his nurse, and ran out of the house, with only his shirt on, down to the Thames, which he swam across below London Bridge; and, after running about for some time on the other side of the water, he re-crossed it in the same way, and then returned to his house, where from that moment he began to recover. A cure no less extraordinary, though effected by means directly opposite, is recorded in the plague at Lyons, in 1628. A baker who was seized, laid down in his oven when it was just cool enough for him to support it, where he rested for many hours, which occasioned a most profuse perspiration, and he speedily recovered.

The streets of London, however, never presented the scenes of horror we find described in this work. Such regulations were made in the beginning for the burial of the dead, that none were ever lying about the town, nor was it necessary, except for the first three weeks in September, when the malady was at its height, to bury by day; during the rest of the time, this most shocking business was always performed by night. So far was

London from resembling Marseilles in this respect; that, from the desolate and deserted state of the streets, grass was growing in some of the principal ones. London does not appear either to have been afflicted with dearth; provisions were always to be had in abundance, and at but a small advance of price. The mortality was not so great at London as at Marseilles in the proportion of the number that died to that of the inhabitants. A hundred thousand are supposed to have died in the former city, which was but a sixth part of her population; whereas, though only fifty thousand perished at Marseilles, yet this was the half of hers. On the whole, dreadful as was the plague of London, it certainly was less horrible than that of Marseilles. By order of the magistrates of London, all the dogs and cats were killed at the commencement of the contagion, under the idea that they would contribute to its propagation.

Note to page 138, line 14.

Although the conduct of the clergy at this time was in general highly commendable, the conduct of a minister in one of the parishes in the territory, whether it was the effect of negligence or of a mistaken zeal, was no less reprehensible. Having two sores, he managed to conceal them so that he continued his functions, celebrating the mass, administering the communion, and confessing his parishioners, by which means he imparted the infection to numbers of them. This is not the only instance of persons who had the malady so slightly as not to be obliged to discontinue their ordinary occupations; but they were not, for this reason,

the less liable to communicate the infection, and were the more dangerous, inasmuch as it was less possible for others to be upon their guard against them. In the Levant, where, from being more frequent, the plague seems to attack with less violence than in these parts, nothing is more common than for persons to be suffered to go on with their usual occupations, being known to have the infection upon them; and hence the excessive danger always to be apprehended from merchandise coming from the Levant, since it is very probable that it may have been packed by a person infected with the plague.

Note to page 239, line 2.

In the plague at Lyons, in 1628, the same phrensy of re-marrying seems to have seized upon the people. One woman married no less than six husbands during the continuance of the contagion, not deterred by seeing one after the other fall victims to it; and, what is still more extraordinary, she never took the infection herself. Is not a prostitute about the streets less an object of censure and disgust than such a woman? Lost as she must have been to all principle, to every thing like feeling, sentiment, or individual attachment, can we call her going through the marriage ceremony, to sanction her avarice or depraved appetite, for by one of these two motives she must have been actuated, any thing less than a profanation of its sacred nature? The disgust, the repugnance that such conduct gives to a mind of any delicacy cannot be expressed, it can only be felt.

Note to page 287, line 26.

The plague was carried to Toulon by means of some inhabitants of Bandol, a small port near Toulon. These people went by night to the island of Jarre, where the merchandise brought by Captain Chataud was in quarantine, and stole thence a bale of silk, which carrying away with them, they on their return home divided the plunder; and as they were many, the infected merchandise was spread widely over the town. This theft, it was thought, could not be committed without the connivance of those who were appointed to guard the merchandise, and who are always persons from the lazaretto. But regardless of the importance of the charge committed to them, persons thus employed, in more instances than the one before us, are known to have connived at like thefts, from which it is probable they were themselves to reap some advantage. Another abuse in which they have been detected is, in permitting, for a trifling sum of money, proprietors of goods, who were impatient of the delay in selling them, occasioned by the quarantine, to convey away a bale secretly, which perhaps had not been properly purified, not considering that by such practices they endangered the lives of the whole city; or at least not regarding it when their own personal advantage was in question.

The town of Bandol was soon infected with the plague: and had the plunderers alone suffered by it, they had but paid the just forfeit of their misdeeds. But unfortunately the owner of a bark at Toulon being at this time at Bandol with his vessel, he too took the infection. He was furnished with a certificate of health

from Toulon, which gave him permission to come and go equally by land and by sea. Leaving his bark at Bandol, he returned to Toulon by land, having his certificate visited on the road by the consuls of St. Nazaire, another small port between Bandol and Toulon. These magistrates not knowing that he came from Bandol, or, if they had, not knowing that the plague was there, passed him on; and thus appearing at the gates of Toulon, which were then strictly guarded, on account of the plague being at Marseilles, with his certificate in due form, he was admitted without hesitation, and brought the infection into the town, which in the end carried off between thirteen and fourteen thousand of the inhabitants. Robbers and contraband traders are the persons to be dreaded of all others when the plague is flying around us.

The following Remarks on the Plague are extracted from Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Syria, &c. by Mons. Olivier, Member of the National Institute at Paris.

In ordinary times, at Constantinople, and in the Levant, the plague does not rage with any violence; few individuals are attacked together, and the disease is slight, so that it does not in general prove mortal. If in any town where it is very common, it has totally subsided for a considerable time, then when it breaks out again, it appears with all its accustomed malignity, and sweeps away great numbers. In general, however, it is much like what the small-pox is in European nations—the country is never wholly free from it, yet it is only occasionally that it breaks out with violence, and produces a great mortality. It would be the same case in Europe, if so many precautions were not used to keep it out of that quarter of the world: and there is no doubt that if similar precautions were taken in those countries where it is now as it were endemial, it would be as little prevalent among them as among us. Particular towns are more or less subject to the plague, according to the degree of their commerce and external relations; and thus it is more constantly at Constantinople than in any other part of the Ottoman empire, as her external communications are more extensive and more constant. Smyrna is esteemed another principal nursery of the plague, and from her very great trade she is frequently the means of spreading it. In Persia it is scarcely ever known, though a considerable trade

is carried on between that country and Smyrna; but this may perhaps arise from the great distance between the two countries, and the vicissitudes of weather experienced in passing from one country to the other, so that even supposing the merchandise to be infected at setting out, the infection may be dissipated before it arrives at its destination—excess of heat or cold are believed equally to destroy infection. The route from Smyrna to Persia is through Asia-Minor and Mesopotamia, or the deserts of Arabia.

It appears clearly demonstrated that the plague cannot be communicated by the air, that it can only be taken by immediate contact with some person or thing infected. It is a fact well authenticated, that at Constantinople no European was ever known to have the plague, who, in the time when it raged, shut themselves up entirely in their own houses, and either fumigated or plunged in vinegar whatever they received from without doors. This could not be the case if the air were capable of communicating the infection. A strong argument too may hence be drawn against the plague ever proceeding from causes that originate in the air, such as stagnant waters, &c. Indeed, if these were the causes in which it originates, no city should be more free from it than Constantinople, since no city is more free from these causes; yet we see that she is scarcely ever, or, as is said above, perhaps never, wholly free from it. Furs are esteemed the commodities of all others most susceptible of receiving, retaining for a length of time, and communicating infection. For this reason cats are esteemed particularly dangerous in a time of contagion, as their coats are very liable to imbibe and carry it from one place to another, and they

are known to have a particular habit of rubbing themselves against whatever they come near. Next to furs, no goods are esteemed so susceptible of infection as wool, cotton, and paper.

Mons. Brun, a French physician at Constantinople, gave sulphur in considerable quantities in the plague, and with great success; and he seems to think that mercury might be given with effect.

ERRATA.

Page 4, line 14, for *remain* read *remnant*.

38, — 28, for *outside* read *upper part*.

69, — 18, after 1st of August, add an asterisk, and a note at bottom, "This report will be found in the Appendix, No. I."

78, — 3, for *this* read *the*.

95, In the title of the chapter, after *court* add 'a hyphen.

163, — 10, dele *then*.

195, — 19, for *Laun* read *Lauw*.

257, — 22, dele *so much*.

329, — 23, after *sec* add *nearly*.





